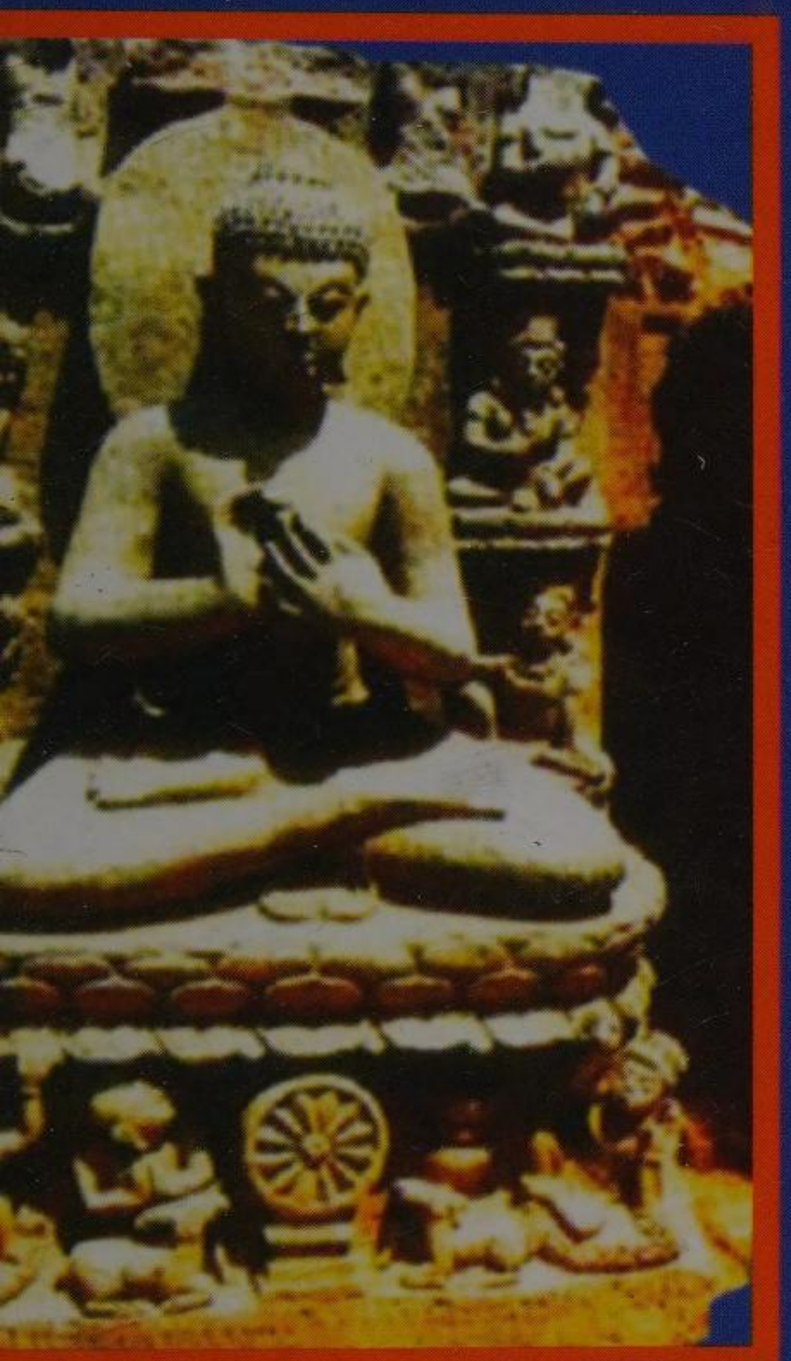
Vajrayāna Buddhism

Study in Social Iconography



Umakant Mishra

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Vajrayāna Buddhism

Study in Social Iconography

Author

Umakant Mishra

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FOREWORD

The rich Buddhist heritage of Orissa has been known and referred to with justified pride since long. A number of excellent studies have been written about it. The interest of most scholars focussed on the art and architecture of the major archaeological sites in the Assia hills, on the relations of Buddhism to political power in the Bhauma-Kara period and on tantric Buddhism as an intellectual and ritual phenomenon to which Orissa appears to have made important contributions.

The present book looks at Buddhism from a different angle. What were the social and religious needs in early medieval society of Orissa, needs to which Buddhism could give adequate answers? How did religious practice change in response to changing socio-political settings and economic expectations? In the multireligious environment of Orissa, where Buddhism, Vishnuism, Shaivism, Shaktism and tribal religions all tried to address the social and spiritual needs of the population, how did these religious groups interact and relate to each other?

Umakanta Mishra addresses such questions and adduces also a wealth of material on the changing face of Buddhism at a time when tantric influences from Assam and Kashmir penetrated Buddhism as well as other religious groups. The author states that Buddhism did not only survive in early medieval Orissa, it prospered and expanded its influence from the 5th century onwards and reached the peak of its cultural influence in the 7th to 12th centuries. Thereafter, for little known reasons, Buddhism declined rapidly to a degree that came near total extinction. What had caused such abrupt decline in the early 13th century?

The author is aware that this sudden change in the fortunes of Buddhism in Orissa calls for an explanation. He notices that when the Gangas replaced the Somavamsis as rulers of Orissa, the state religion began to be focussed entirely on the cult of Purushottama Jagannātha and on the Vaishnava tradition, with Narasimha as its most victorious representative. But he also knows that the rise of Jagannātha as a tutelary deity of the Ganga kings – and, indeed, officially claimed divine ruler of the country – can not be the only reason, because this change affected all other religions in equal manner. Obviously, the royal predelection for the cult of Jagannātha did not lead to any noticeable decline of Shaivism or Shaktism in Orissa. Obviously, the reason must be sought elsewhere. Militant action or social oppression against the Buddhists are not on record.

One should rather look for reasons leading to the decline of Buddhism in Orissa

in areas beyond the frontiers of the state. The Buddhist networks in Orissa had been linked with those of Chattisgarh, i.e., the upper regions of the Mahanadi river where a large number of flourishing Buddhist viharas existed, and with the famous Buddhist intellectual centers in Bihar and Bengal, particularly with Nalandā and, to a lesser degree, also with Vikramaśilā, both acting as intellectual counterparts that exerted a continuous influence on the tantra-oriented Buddhist elite of Orissa. But when, in the first decade of the 13th century, Afghan armies overran the Gangetic plain and raided these ancient and renowned seats of traditional learning together with their famous libraries, this turned out to be a decisive blow for Buddhism in Orissa as well. While Hindu brahmins used to have their sacred scriptures at home, the Buddhists kept their written tradition preferably in well-kept libraries attached to important monasteries. The destruction of these libraries by Muslim raids have dealt a serious blow to Buddhism in northern India and led to an exodus of Buddhists from the Ganges valley to South-East Asia. It also affected Buddhism in Orissa.

In view of the deeply rooted religious tolerance in Orissan tradition, the exodus of Buddhists from Orissa should probably not be sought in social pressure or political interference by the rulers of the state, but rather in new and highly promising opportunities offered across the sea in Southeast Asia where Buddhism was about to become the dominant culture. Enormous stupas were erected, Buddhist art reached a second peak in its glorious history. In order to infuse religious life into these monuments, to bring a high standard of Buddhist teaching to newly established viharas and to animate the intellectual discourse at royal courts in Southeast Asia, entire shiploads of Buddhist priests and scholars were needed in the countries across the bay of Bengal. The result was a New-world exodus, impelled less by difficulties at home but rather by splendid opportunities across the sea where the Southeast Asian countries from Mayanmar to Java initiated an unparalleled upsurge of Buddhist art and life-style.

Umakant Mishra is to be congratulated for having given detailed information about the social background and religious practice of Mahayāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism in rural Orissa, and about the mixed culture that emerged when Shaiva, Shakta and Bauddha traditions were all affected by a strong undercurrent of tantric elements. It was this type of intellectual absorption of a variety of socio-religious trends that must have been transferred from Orissa (and other states of Eastern India) to the Buddhist communities in Southeast Asia.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Brought up in the close environments of the ruins of Lalitgiri and Chandia (now extinct due to a prosperous antique market), I had a sense of belonging with the Buddhist heritage of Orissa but it was only after 1997 that I took up the studies on Buddhism quite seriously. Before that I had only heard of Pañca Dhyāni Buddhas, seven Mānuṣī Buddha, Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, Prajñapāramitā, Mañjūśrī and few other Buddhist gods and goddesses. A study of Benoytosh Bhattacharya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* first exposed me to myriad pantheon structure of Buddhism. Studies of the original *Śādhanamālā, Niṣpannayogāvalī, Vajrāvalī* and many other excellent books published by Śata Piṭaka series considerably broadened by my horizon. Scholarly works particularly of Wayman's *Buddhist Tantras,* Snellgrove's translation of *Hevajra Tantra* and other books on Tibetan Esoterism and Dasgupta's *Obscure Religious Cults*... and Karunakar Kar's *Āchārya Cāryaśraya* (Oriya) helped understand the complex philosophies of Vajrayāna Buddhism. On the other hand, much of the social aspects of Buddhism is derived from numerous studies on Newar Buddhism.

However, when I began fieldwork in the Chitrotpala-Birupa and Kimiria Valleys of undivided Cuttack district with the help of Mohapatra's invaluable work *Archaeology of Orissa* and Debala Mitra's *Ratnagiri,* I faced difficulties in identifying many deities, particularly cult of Bodhisattvas in Lalitgiri. Fortunately, I came across one article of Donaldson on Buddhist *maṇḍalas* in Orissa, published in *East & West.* After 2000, Donaldson published a series of books on iconographie – Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta, which have considerable academic value. I have profited enormously from these books and the book could not have assumed the present shape without the timely publication of these books.

I have profited enormously from the extensive fieldwork of temples of Orissa as a research assistant in the Orissa Research Project under the supervision of Padmashree von Stietencron of Tubingen University. The fieldwork from seven in the morning to six in the evening in Nov-Dec. 2002 provided an opportunity to study the temples of coastal Orissa. He has written 'Foreword' to the Present book.

However, my supervisor Himanshu Prabha Ray has been most influential in shaping my academic career as well as the present form of the study. She taught me the nuances of historical research. She spent her valuable time in making the argument more cogent and structure more *gestalten.*

I thank Prof. Bhairabi Sahu, Professor of Delhi University and Dr. Kishore Basa, Utkal University for their valuable suggestions.

I am also indebted to Lokesh Chandra to permit to use personal library. I have also profited enormously from the neat library of American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon and its rich photo archive. I have also been helped from the photo archive of the Archaeological Survey of India, Orissa State Museum and Archaeological Survey of India.

My sincere thanks to Shuklaji for publishing the book.

However, I am alone responsible for the mistakes and inadequacies of the present book.

New Delhi **Umakanta Mishra**

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
ARSIE	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
ASIAR	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India
BEFEO	Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d' extreme orient
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CNS	Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Published by the Centre for Nepalese and Asian Studies (CNAD), Tribhuvan University, Kathamandu.
EI	Epigraphia Indica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IAR	Indian Archaeology-a Review
IQ	Inscriptions of Orissa (ed. by S. N. Rajaguru).
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASB, NS	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series
JASL	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JNRC	Journal of the Nepal (German) Research Centre, Kathamandu
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRASBL	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters
NS	Nepal Saṁvat (879 AD)
NSP	Nispannayogavālī
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal
OSM	Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar
PHIC	Proceeding of the Indian History Congress
QJAHRS	Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of the present study

Recent archaeological excavations and explorations have brought to light more than 150 Buddhist sites in Orissa. Most of these sites flourished between 7th to 12th centuries AD, even though the nucleus of some of these sites, like that of Ratnagiri, Langudi and Lalitgiri, go back to pre - and early centuries of the Christian era. Some of these Buddhist establishments were not only spatially vast but also showed remarkable temporal continuity of more than a millennium. From the structural point of view, the monastic complexes were huge, comparable to the *Kaliṅga* style temples, which were constructed in the same period.[1] Historical evidence indicates horizontal expansion of Buddhist sites, enlargement of few establishments and uninterrupted temporal continuity of some others in the period between 5th century but especially between 7th century and 12th century AD.

This expansion of Buddhism was not spatial alone. Buddhism of this period introduced a large pantheon structure, experimented with new forms of iconography and innovated new rituals and practices. Buddhism of the period, especially the Vajrayāna form, introduced a number of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses. People worshipped these gods and goddesses for fulfilling many of their everyday needs. Each god and goddess was assigned important instrumental roles. For instance, Parṇasabarī was invoked for curing epidemics; Cintāmani Avalokiteśvara, for bestowing wealth, etc. Buddhist sites of Orissa have yielded images of many of these deities. The worship of such gods and goddesses was not limited to monks alone. Their worship by the lay worshippers in Orissa was attested by number of votive stūpas at the Buddhist sites of Orissa, which carry in their niches these gods and goddesses, indicating the cult preference of pilgrims.[2]

The worship of these deities also involved elaborate rituals.[3] Archaeological evidence shows increasing use of *dhāraṇi* and *maṇḍala* in the realm of ritual practices.[4] The maṇḍala form of worship was highly complex and elaborate, which required a ritual specialists. The Vajrayāna texts of the period, like the *Hevajra Tantra,* the *Guhyasamāja-tantra, etc.* refer to the role of sexual partner for monks. This would have resulted in the emergence of a hereditary priest/monk, required in the complex *maṇḍala* rituals of the households, Archaeological finds include secret cella within the monastic complex indicating some secret esoteric ritual practices, which were integral to the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism. But iconographic evidence also indicates

that there was a conscious attempt to suppress possible objectionable features of Vajrayāna Buddhism, like the trampling of the Hindu deities and embracing deities. The relative absence of embracing Buddhist deities as well as those of Buddhist deities trampling on brāhmanical divinities indicate a conscious attempt to restrict the extreme elements of the religion.

Thus, archaeological evidence from these Buddhist sites indicates great expansion, uninterrupted continuity and attempt to making Buddhism more instrumental to address the everyday need of the laity.

This expansion of Buddhism was not restricted to Orissa alone. In eastern India, there was an enormous growth of Buddhism with new monasteries like Ratnagiri and Vikramaśilā coming up and old establishment like Nālandā and Bodh Gayā continuing. In other parts of the subcontinent, Buddhist establishments of the earlier period, like Sārnātha, Sāñcī, Kanheri continued to exist even though many sites of Madhyadesa and Buddhist cave sites of western Deccan, southern Kalinga (Thotalakonda) and the Krishna valley declined. However, new establishments like Negapattinam in Tamilnadu also came up during this period.

The innovations that Vajrayāna made in terms of the *maṇḍala* theme in Buddhist architecture and sculpture, as reflected in the Udayagiri stūpa and numerous *maṇḍala* sculptures of Orissa in the post-6th century, went to Southeast Asia and further east to China, Korea and Japan and across the Himālayas to Nepal and Tibet. It is to be noted that two important Buddhist monuments of Central Java, notably Borobodur and Candi Mendut were *maṇḍala-stūpas* built on the *Vajradhātu* and *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava maṇḍala* respectively (Lundquist 1997:283-306). Similarly, the Shingon Buddhism of Japan was largely moulded on the *maṇḍala* form. It is important to note that the Buddhist monks, namely Amoghavajra and Subhakarasiṁha, who took these two *maṇḍalas* to China, were either from Orissa or associated with it (Yi-liang 1945: 251–255; Daigan 1978: 178).

Thus, contrary to the received wisdom about the decline of Buddhism in the period, the historical evidence indicates that Buddhism expanded in some regions, continued in others and saw enormous spread outside India during 7th century to 12th century.

1.2 Fundamental Questions

This vertical and horizontal expansion of Buddhism, especially in Orissa, raises three fundamental questions, which are relevant to the study of religions of this period. First, if Buddhism had such a substantial presence, showed uninterrupted continuity and enlargement of selected establishments, which required a stable support system for their sustenance, then there is a need to relook at how Buddhism of this period has been conceptualised in existing secondary literature. Second, if the period witnessed a gradual dominance and hegemony of brāhmanical religions, as has been argued in the existing historiography of early medieval India, how is the substantial presence of Buddhism explained? And lastly, if Buddhist sites with their

enormous establishments juxtaposed with the Kalinga-style temples of Orissa, how is the relation between brāhmanical religion and Buddhism conceptualised?

1.3 Vajrayāna as Degenerate and Declining Buddhism?

Existing works regard Buddhism or the period as declining and reduced to a few pockets of eastern India (Bhattacharyya 1987). A recent work on the religion of Bengal also accepts this decline and degeneration of Buddhism hypothesis apriori ignóring the substantial presence of Buddhism in Bengal between 7th-12th centuries AD (Chakrabarti 2001). Vajrayāna Buddhism is regarded as a degenerate form of Buddhism having no similarity with the original Buddhism of Buddha's time or with Māhayanism. It was reduced to many psychosexual practices and was confined to the monastic community having lost touch with the laity.

N. N. Bhattacharyya writes:

> If Buddhism declined after Pāla period... What was the real condition of Buddhism? Was it not a bundle of popular cults and superstitions, which could be called in any name? True there were few monasteries, patronised by kings and landlords and also monkish culture proclaiming the world as void entity. But the Buddhist monks were parasites living on the financial support of kings and landlords, and as soon as this financial support was withdrawn, monks of the great monasteries at once turned into beggars for whom none was to shed tears. Had Buddhism in its later forms been an organised religion with followers among the people it could not perish all of a sudden (Bhattacharyya, 1981:15).

Such a conclusion is based on the following assumptions. First, it was nothing but a bundle of superstitions having no connection with the 'original Buddhism. Second, it was dependent on royal patronage for its survival. Third, it was confined to monastic practices without any base among the laity. Fourth, it was not an organised religion but a bundle of practices borrowed from brāhmanical religions and practices.

Historical evidence of our period does not support any of the assumptions made about Vajrayāna Buddhism.

First, the charges of degeneration and corruption are based on the assumption that 'original Buddhism' was egalitarian and hostile to magic. Such an approach underlines a compartmentalisation of various forms of Buddhism, namely Theravāda, Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna. Anthropological works on existing Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Burma reveal the existence of a single Buddhist tradition in their respective country even though the religious tradition incorporates different strands in it. Gombrich and Geertz make the differentiation according to the class of its followers — of peasants, monks (Gombrich 1988). Geertz distinguished three variants of Javanese religion: that of peasants, that of old urban ruling class and that of more strongly Muslim merchants (Geertz 1960). More relevant to our study of compartmentalisation of three forms are Spiro's work on Burmese Buddhism and

Gellner's study of Buddhism in the Kathamandu valley. Spiro considers Burmese Buddhism as a single entity even though he found three strands—that of *nibbanic, kammatic* and *apotropaic* – in it, which closely approximate to three ways of Buddhism (Spiro 1982). These triad of the Burmese Buddhism, according to Spiro, refer to Buddhism orientated to gaining *nirvāṇa,* Buddhism oriented to improving one's *karma* and thus attaining heaven and Buddhism used for magical and protective purposes. However, Spiro's classification is not emic categories, *i.e.* the classification was not used by the Burmese themselves. Spiro set up three systems or sub-systems according to the purposes for which Burmese Buddhism was practised; in fact each purpose can be accommodated within one system. Moreover, Spiro wrongly identified *nibbanic* Buddhism (approximating to Theravāda Buddhism) as normative and scriptural (Gombrich 1972: 491). However, Gellner's study of Nepalese Buddhism shows that Nepalese Buddhists know the three Ways and use them for classification (Gellner 1996).

Historical evidence of our period shows that Buddhism was seen as a single system, and there was no compartmentalisation between three ways as has been made in modern works. I-tsing echoes this single Buddhist system thus:

> The two systems (Hinayāna and Mahāyāna) are perfectly in accordance with the noble doctrine... Both equally conform to the truth and lead us to *nirvāṇa*... The two systems are, in like manner, taught in India, for in essential points they differ not from each other...Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahāyāna sūtras are called the Mahāyānists, while those who do not are called the Hinayānists. (Takakusu 1966: 14-15)

The Buddhist texts of later period (7th-8th century AD) consider Buddhism as a single system (*ekayāna*) having various sub-systems. The *Advāyavajrasaṁgraha* sees this unity of Buddhism and sees the interrelationship between various ways of Buddhism (Shastri 1927). This is not to say that the followers of Buddhism did not see the difference of various sub-systems and there was perfect harmony among the different Ways. Tārānath's history of Buddhism records that in the reign of Dharmapāla (770–810 AD) the Theravāda monks from Sri Lanka, who were the predominant groups at the Bodh Gayā Temple, burnt Vajrayāna books, saying they were composed by Māra. They also smashed an image of Vajrayāna god Heruka (Chattopadhyaya 1970: 279). However, it is extremely difficult to ascertain from material remains the nature of a particular establishment; followers of all three systems lived in Buddhist sites like Bodh Gaya. The archaeological materials in the form of sculpture, *dharaṇi* and seals found from Nālandā suggest that both Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna followers were staying together. (According to I-tsing Nālandā was a Mahāyāna centre.)

Further, the argument about degeneration and corruption is derived from the notion that Buddhism of an earlier period (Buddha's time) was egalitarian and monastic in nature whereas the Vajrayāna negates everything for which early

Buddhism stood for. Recent scholarship has questioned this assumption. Schopen's work negates the textual assumptions about early Buddhism on the basis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence (Schopen 1997). He negates the monastic nature of early Buddhism and also questions the assumption that monastic practice was distinct in kind from lay practices, "In India, Buddhism was much more than the sum of its *śāstras* where monks and nuns actually surpass laypersons as patrons and devotees of *stūpa* and image cult, fully wrapped up in the supposedly 'popular' world of *karmic* action; where residents of monasteries mint money and are often exceedingly rich and powerful" *(ibid.:* 278). The study of donatory inscriptions of Sāñcī reveal that out of 631 inscriptions, *bhikkus* and *bhikkuṇis* accounted for about 200 (Dehejia 1992: 35-45).

Such compartmentalisation of various ways of Buddhism is not corroborated by archaeological remains, and is due to excessive emphasis given to literary sources to the neglect of archaeological materials. Moreover, the Vajrayāna texts were dismissed too casually as advocating psychosexual practices. Recent scholarship, particularly of Snellgrove (Snellgrove 1987) and Wayman (Wayman 1996) and books published under *Śata piṭaka series,* highlight the serious nature of these Vajrayāna texts as well as underline their philosophical continuity with Mahāyāna doctrines.

1.4 Vajrayāna Buddhism as a Social Religion

Archaeological materials of our period reveal that Vajrayāna Buddhism was not a 'bundle of superstitions, confined to monks', but an organised social religion, oriented toward fulfilling the every-day needs of the laypersons. It was organised in the sense that its deities, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are integrated in a pentadic classification (dealt in chapter 2 and 3). It was social in the sense that it introduced numerous deities, innovated many rituals to take care of the existential need of the laity. These deities, hundreds in number, are assigned particular role to play. The worship of each deity or in combination, was supposed to lead to fulfilment of certain instrumental goals. Moreover, there were deities who were associated with particular social groups; namely Parṇasabari is known as goddess of all *savaras,* while Avalokiteśvara was the god of *śarthavāha* (trader) (Getty 1978: 134). Vajrayāna certainly involved esoteric secret practices, but more significantly as an exoteric religion it was practical in nature. Practical religion means an everyday kind of religion practised by ordinary people with interests centred on this world. In this, there is tremendous stress on attainment of the putatively good things of this world even though it is imminently responsive to soteriological pressure (Leach 1968: 38). The introduction of numerous deities, elaborate rituals associated with the worship of deities, the necessity of a ritual specialist in their worship all made Buddhism more instrumental practical. One indicator of the popularity of Buddhism of this period is the large number of votive *stūpas* foud in Buddhist establishments of Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri commemorating their visit to the sacred sites.

1.5 Religious Dynamics

Historical evidence shows that Buddhism expanded vertically and horizontally in Orissa. It was a vibrant and dynamic religion experimenting with new ideas,

introducing new rituals and innovated numerous deities to perform certain instrumental role. The period also marked the beginning of Kaliṅga-style temple architecture in coastal Orissa. The earliest group of temples of Bhubaneswar goes back to 7th century AD. Historical evidence suggests the presence of numerous cults of brahmanical religions in different parts of Orissa. (Documented in Chapter 3). How is the relationship between Buddhism and brāhmanical religions conceptualised in a context in which both religions were expanding?

Buddhism was not introduced in Orissa in 7th century AD. It began in Orissa quite early. Early Buddhist literature relates the story of Tapussa and Bhalluka, two merchants of Ukkala (Utkala), who were the first disciples of Śākyamuni Gautama *(Aṅguttara Nikāya* I: 26 *Mahāvāstu* III: 303*)*. However, the first archaeological evidence of the presence of Buddhism in Orissa is the elephant of Dhauli belonging to the Aśokan period. Aśoka was credited with the construction of 84000 *stūpas* in different parts of India, and Xuanzang says that one of them was in the capital of Wu tu (Watters 1905:193). Dhauli, which contains the elephant and the *Major Rock Edict* of Aśoka, seems to contain an ancient stūpa near the edict, which existed as late as 19th century AD. In the last century, several scholars noticed the remains of a *stūpa* (Mitra 1881: 69; ASIAR XIII: 96). However, the remains of a *stūpa* relic as well Yakṣa figure dated to 1st century AD indicate the existence of another Buddhist *stūpa* in Bhubaneswar (Sahu 1958: 32). Around 2nd-1st century BC, three other Buddhist sites in the Mahānadī delta came up, notably Lalitgiri, Langudi and Kaima. While Lalitgiri *mahācaitya* was built in 2nd century BC (as known from the Mauryan-brāhmī inscription near the damaged stone pavements of the *mahācaitya* area, the relic casket found from the *stūpa* area of Lalitgiri and the apsidal *caityagṛha, Kuṣaṇa-brāhmī* inscription found on a stone fixed on the pavements of apsidal caityagṛha*)*, Langudi, a recently excavated site, has yielded brāhmī inscriptions referring to *Puspa sabhar giriya* (Pradhan, personal communication).[5] The *yakṣa* figure and Śuṅga terracotta also establish the antiquity of the site. On the other hand, Kaima preserves an elephant on its southern side, which has remarkable resemblance with the Dhauli elephant. Unlike the Dhauli elephant, it is a rounded one with its tusk broken. But the treatment of the trunk exhibits close similarity with Dhauli. It also contains a cell *brāhmī* inscription of post-Mauryan character, which I could not decipher.

A Prakrit inscription from Nāgarjunakoṇḍa of Śri Virapuri Sadata records that Tosali, Palur and Puspagiri of Orissa were great Buddhist centres of Mahāsaṁghikas in 3rd century AD (EI 20: 21) 23). Around the same time, the Bhadrakālī Inscription of Gaṇa records donation to goddess Parṇadevati and certain *Ārya saṁgha* (*EI* 29: 169–172).[6] From 5th century AD onwards two important developments took place in Buddhism. First, the Buddhist settlements expanded to inland Orissa. This is known from the Āsanapata inscription of Śatrubhañja of Keonjhar district, which records donation to Buddhist establishment (Das 1965: 13). Second, around the same time Ratnagiri monastery was built. The Tibetan pilgrim Tārānath refers to the construction of Ratnagiri monastery in the reign of Buddhapakṣa.[7]

From the 5th century AD onward land grants to *brāhmaṇas* and brāhmanical temples began to appear. These epigraphic records also refer to various deities of

FIG. 1.1. EARLY BEGINNINGS

A
Rock-cut Elephant
Dhauli (3rd century B.C.)

B
Elephant Kaima, Jajpur Dist.
(2nd century B.C.)

C
Lalitgiri Caityagṛha, Lalitgiri
(2nd century B.C.)

D

Rock-cut Stupas & Yakṣa Figure,
Langudi
(2nd century-1st century B.C.)

E

Stupa Railings, Bhubaneswar
(1st century B.C.)

brāhmanical pantheon. By this time Viraja in Jajpur had already become a cult centre. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the sacred river Vaitarani as well as to Virajā (*Vanaparvan Mahābhārata:* 83.6; 111.4.5-25). On iconographic ground, some scholars assign Virajā to the 5th century AD, even though such an approach of dating on the basis of number of hands is not borne by historical evidence. However Jajpur contains some early specimen of Viṣṇu images. Śaivism also found early foothold in Jajpur. Viraja *Kṣetra* is conceived as an inverted triangle, at the centre of which is located the Viraja temple, while three nodes of the triangle are represented by Baruneśwar, Beleśvara and Khilateśvara (Padhee 2002).

While Viraja emerged as a Śākta centre, Bhubaneswar began to emerge as a Śaiva centre from 5th century AD (On the basis of transformation of Bhāskareśvara Aśokan pillar into a Śiva liṅgaṃ) but more particularly from 7th century AD. Early group of temples of Bhubaneswar, like the Shatrughneswar and others were built during this period. In subsequent centuries Ekamrakṣetra-Bhubaneswar became a classical Śaiva centre with Liṅgarāja as its tutelar deity. This occurred during the Somavamsis in 10th-11th century AD.

In central Orissa Śaivism found its foothold in Sītābhiñjī, where the small inscription of Śatrubhañja near the tempera painting refers to donation to Śaiva ascetics (Das 1965: 13). In southern Orissa, the Gaṅgās of Śvetaka and later, the Eastern Gaṅgās were worshipper of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara (Singh 1994: 257). The middle Mahānadī valley in Narsinghpur division of Cuttack district and Dhenkanal district also contains some early Śaiva and Śākta temples, particularly the Siṁhanātha temple in Narsimhpur, Kanakeśvara temple at Kualo in Dhenkanal district. In the 8th century AD, there is evidence of *pancāyatana* temples within the compound of Śaiva temples as in the Manikeśvara temple of Śukleśvara in Cuttack district.

Various forms of Viṣṇu have been found from Jajpur, Kesaribeda in Koraput district and Bhubaneswar. One noteworthy trend is the emergence of Hari-Hara cult in Bhubaneswar temples from 7th century AD onwards.

Two other strands within the mother goddess tradition were the emergence of many autochthonous deities like Stambheśvarī, Maṇinageśvarī in the inscription of Tustikara in 6th century AD and later in the records of the Śulkis.[8] The other strand within mother goddess tradition was the emergence of sixty-four *yoginī* cults at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and Ranipur-Jharial in Bolangir district (Dehejia 1986).

Jainism was also present in few areas of coastal Orissa. Bhubaneswar remained a Jaina centre from the days of Khāravela. Small inscriptions from Khandagiri belonging to the Somavamsis period as well sculptures of *tīrthaṅkara* attest the Jaina presence in the Khandagiri-Udayagiri area. There are other places where Jaina images have been found.

The brief review of religious landscape of the period shows great complexity and heterogeneity in religions and cults (for spatial distribution of various religions and major centres see maps in Ch. 3). It is in these environments that Buddhism prospered and expanded. However, early medieval historiography glosses over this

complexity, and sees the period from the perspective of the process of hegemony and dominance of brāhmanical religions and culture.

1.5.1. Religion and Early Medieval Historiography

Religious dynamics have been reduced in early medieval historiography to supplement our understanding of political processes of the time – especially royal legitimisation only. While such an approach has brought out the close relationship between polities and societal processes on the one hand and religion on the other, they have reduced the complexities of religion to mere ideological manifestations of political/societal processes at work in the early medieval period. This is most apparent in the 'Feudal Model', where Sharma has argued that tantricism was merely a product of the emergence of small political kingdoms in far-flung areas away from the brāhmanical zone. The Feudal model contends that tantricism was the product of the brāhmanical colonisation of the tribal area through the process of land grants. Tantricism, incorporating many elements of tribal beliefs and practices was a brāhmanical answer to the resultant tension of *brāhmaṇas*' penetration to the tribal area (Sharma 1974 175–189).[9]

On the other hand, the Segmentary Model of Burton Stein sees the brāhmanical religions, especially its *bhakti* version and temple as spreading the ritual sovereignty of the kings ruling from Kaveri delta and expanding their territory to other *'tinais* of Tamilham. (Stein 1980). The structuralists see the dynamic correlation between brahmanical religions and political and other processes. Rather than reducing the religion to a mere super structure of feudal economy, historians like Champakalakshmi underline the need to understand the inter-relationship between brāhmanical religions and art on the one hand and art and politics, *i.e.* political iconography on the other (Champakalakshmi: 1995: 297).

Kulke's 'Integrative Polity Model' brings in cult appropriation as a central theme in royal legitimation and analyses the emergence of the Jagannātha cult and prior to that, other cults as primarily fulfilling royal legitimatisation function. It also highlights the role of land grants and temples in this process of royal legitimation in tribal-dominated kingdoms. (Kulke 1978 : 125-37)).

However, all models hinge on two assumptions: first, the brāhmanical religions were the best models available to be used by political rulers for their royal legitimation and secondly, all models rest on the assumptions that the period after 5th century AD was characterised by a close juxtaposition of dominant Purānic religion, expansion of agriculture through āgrahara settlements of *brāhmaṇas*, acculturation of tribal-peripheral areas through cult appropriation and incorporation and royal legitimation. In contrast, the early historical period is characterised by long distance trade, centralised polity and presence of Buddhism.

Historical evidence of the period contests both the generalisations. Religions and religious dynamics are much more complex than a mere ideological apparatus of political rulers. The rulers of this period certainly used religion and religious patronage to strengthen their legitimacy, but this did not lead to the emergence of mono-religious environment. The study of distributions of religious sculptures and

structures show that the period between 5th to 12th centuries AD witnessed the growth of all cults – Śaiva, Śākta, autochthonous cults, Buddhism and Jainism. Rather than a predominantly Purānic Hinduism, the archaeological and sculptural evidence shows the existence of a poly-religious landscape of Orissa between 7th to 12th centuries AD. Further, the superimposition of religious structure and cults on the distribution of *agrahāra* settlements of the period reveals that while *religious structures* are largely confined to coastal Orissa and upland river plains, which had habitation continuity from the early historical period, the *āgrahāra* settlements are mainly in the interior parts of Orissa. This indicates that the *brāhmaṇas* did not play any significant role in the spread of brāhmanical religions in the period.

More important from the standpoint of the present study, Buddhism was quite extensive and widespread in coastal Orissa in a period when gigantic temples were built and land donations were given to *brāhmaṇas.* The expansion was not along spatial dimension alone. It also expanded vertically exhibiting dynamism; it tried to make Buddhism more this worldly. These attempts to make Buddhism more instrumental resulted in the expansion of Buddhist establishments in Orissa. The iconographic study shows this instrumental aspect of Buddhism. This aspect of iconography, and the expansion of Buddhism has been analysed in Ch. *2. Maṇḍala* became an integral part of rituals – both within the household and in the monastic complex – from 7th century AD onward. In Buddhism the *maṇḍala* drawn in powdered colour, became a part of household ritual. The *maṇḍala* theme also pervaded many other spheres and *stūpa* and sculptural *maṇḍalas* became quite well-known. From the corroboration of texts and *stūpa* and sculptural *maṇḍalas,* it can be said that the Buddhist *maṇḍalas* had its origin in Orissa. Subhakarasiṁha's *Abhisaṁbodhi Vairocana,* on the basis of which Shingon Buddhism of Japan was organised, belonged to Orissa and both *Vajradhātu* and *Mahākarunagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* – which form the basis of Japanese Buddhism – have been represented in *stūpa maṇḍala* of Udayagiri and sculptural *maṇḍalas* found from Ratnagiri.

1.5.2. Contestation in a shared Cultural Context

How is then religious dynamics viewed in a poly-religious context, as in early medieval Orissa? Xuanzang had this to note in Orissa about the equation between brāhmanical religion and Buddhism in Orissa of 7th century AD:

> The people are indefatigable students and many of them are Buddhists. There are 100 Buddhist monasteries and a myriad brethren are Mahāyānists. Of deva temple there were fifty, and *the various sects lived pell-mell* (emphasis mine) (Watters 1961: 193).

Sylvain Levi, in the context of Nepal, wrote:

> A rigid classification, which simplistically divided divinities up under the headings, Buddhism, Śaivism, and Vaiṣṇavīsm, would be pure nonsense; under

> different names, and at different levels, the same gods are the most part common to different confessions (Levi 1905 I: 319).

Both the religions shared certain baseline concepts. Both tried to incorporate tribal and other popular elements into their religions. They adopted *maṇḍala* rituals, introduced the worship of numerous gods and goddesses and highlighted pilgrimage.

However, historical evidence also shows contestation between Buddhism and brāhmanical religion. This contestation took place primarily in very subtle forms in which competing religions adopted and adapted elements of rival religion to attract the adherents of the other religions. We have identified seven processes through which Buddhism was able to contest with the brāhmanical religions by making innovations in the sphere of iconography and rituals (See Chapter 4).

Nor was brāhmanical religion a monolith. Within it there were attempts by the Vaiṣṇavites to dominate over the Śaivites. This is particularly visible in Liṅgarāja temple, where the *āyudha* is half disc and half *triśūla* instead of usual *triśūla* found atop the Śiva temple.

1.6 Support base of Buddhism

If Buddhism was a social, instrumental and practical religion, what was its support base? The issue of support base brings to focus one crucial issue– namely the role of royal patronage– in the development of a religion.

What role did royal patronage play in this complex, dynamic religious equation is indeed difficult to assess. Historical evidence of the period does not suggest a direct linkage between royal patronage to a particular cult and its position on the religious landscape of the period. Of course, gigantic temples were built in this period; so also huge monastic establishments that required considerable resources. And the precise connection between royal patronage and cult status is not borne out in historical evidence of the period during 7th- 12th century AD. It is worthwhile to note that it was during the Somavaṁśīs that the great temple of Liṅgarāja was built and largest Buddhist sculptures were also found in Orissa.

Nor was the role of the *brāhmaṇas* and land grants to them clear in historical evidence. Early Medieval historiography argues for a positive correlation between land grants to brahmanas and expansion of brāhmanical religions. However, this is not borne out from our study. An analysis of the Bhaumakara and Somavaṁśī grants reveals that some villages, which were donated to brāhmaṇas, on archaeological enquiry, revealed substantial Buddhist presence (Ch 5).

Moreover, the support base of a religion cannot be construed from the perspectives of royal patronage alone. Religions of the period used several methods to broaden their support base. In case of Buddhism, *dāna* forms an ideological component and was considered as one of the seven *Pāramitās*. The notion that Buddhist monastic community was a merit-field (*Puṇṇa Kṣetra*) provides ideological basis for continuous flow of resources, which were required to build and sustain massive Buddhist

establishments. Important innovations took place around 7th century AD when Vajrayāna Buddhism made the religion *lokika* (this-worldly) and instrumental. In fact, evolution of Buddhism can be seen as a constant effort to make a monastic religion more this-worldly by adopting practices and introducing innovations which are closer approximation to the shared baseline concepts. In our view Vajrayāna, rather than a degenerate form of 'pure' Buddhism, was a mere culmination of the process of evolving Buddhism as an instrumental religion (Ch. 2 and 3).

Hence, the support system (Ch. 5) of Buddhism in the early medieval context is analysed on the basis of archaeological evidence. The emphasis is more on 'markers' of support-base than on epigraphic reference to donation. These markers include votive *stūpas,* clay seals and sealings.[10]

One social group, which had special relationship with Buddhism, was the trading class, more particularly the maritime traders. Avalokiteśvara Padmapāni was described in the Buddhist texts as deity of the *sārthavāhas.* At Kanheri, he is represented as a saviour saving his devotees from Eight Great Fears *(aṣṭamahābhaya).* From eighth century onwards his position as a saviour was taken over by Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā. As a great saviouress, maritime traders invoked her and one of the *bhayas* includes the drowning of ships from which she rescues her devotees. Two images of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā from Ratnnagiri depict the fears, which also include the depiction of a sinking ship. The period during 7th century to 12th century AD witnessed some of the Vajrayāna themes spreading to Southeast Asia, China and Japan. Study of the locations of numerous Buddhist sites in Southeast Asia reveals their close proximity with the port sites bringing into focus the Buddhist linkage in the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean in the Post-9th century AD.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

These issues, namely Buddhism as a degenerate religion, issue of its support base, royal patronage and religious dynamics in the poly-religious Orissan context of 7th to 12th century AD have been dealt in the present book. They are relevant in the larger debate about the nature of interrelations between different religions in the South Asian context, the role of *brāhmaṇas* in the spread of Purānic Hinduism and the role of royalty in the dominance of brāhmanical religion through the instrument of land grants to *brāhmaṇas.* Further, the received wisdom that after the decline of Buddhism in India in the centres, Buddhism in Southeast Asia was inspired by the Sri Lankan model, or the entry of Islam replaced the Buddhist trading network in the post 9th century AD, have been discussed in the present study.

First, the spread of Buddhism in Orissa during this period is documented. Careful documentation of Buddhist sites, their location along with sculptural and structural remains have been attempted in Chapter 3. This is to show the substantial evidence of the Buddhist presence and its growth in our period. Sculptural evidence of numerous deities, each linked to the pentadic classification of *Dhyāni* Buddhas, have been documented to show the vertical spread of Buddhism during this period. Further, the Buddhist *maṇḍala* in sculpture has been dealt in this chapter to show

the innovations in rituals and iconography. The chapter also documents the presence of brāhmanical religions in Buddhist sites or nearby to argue about a poly-religious landscape of Orissa. The vertical and horizontal expansion of Buddhism has been studied in a temporal context to bring out the shifting, and clustering of Buddhist sites. Such an approach is also extended to longitudinal studies of select sites to highlight changes in the monastic plan.

Chapter 2 discusses the degenerate hypothesis about Vajrayāna and evidence to the contrary is presented. It argues that Vajrayāna Buddhism was a practical and instrumental religion, oriented in its exoteric version towards the laity even though there was also an esoteric aspect involving secret practices. Archaeological evidence from Ratnagiri and Monastery II of Udayagiri reveals secret cella with rectangular structure for sacrifice. But anthropological evidence from Nepal suggests that many of the fierce-looking *Yab-yum* Buddhist images are worshipped in secret chambers in upper storey of the Nepalese temples to which laity is not generally allowed to enter in. The same could be conceptualised in case of Orissa where the esoteric practices were carried out in secret cella of the monastery whereas at large, the laity had access to the sacred spaces of the monastic complex. This is known from the distribution of votive *stūpas* near important sacred space of the monastic complexes of various sites. Equally important is to note the relative or complete absence of embracing deities in Orissa, indicating thereby the preponderance of Vajrayāna as an exoteric religion. As an exoteric religion, it made many innovations to broaden its social base and make the religion more *lokika* (this-worldly). These innovations include introduction of many instrumental deities, their worship and rituals involved with these deities. These deities were supposed to fulfil the everyday needs of individuals. An elaborate classification of the instrumental deities has been done on the basis of the Buddhist texts of the period. *Dharaṇis* became very popular from 7th century AD onward. These *dhāraṇis* were supposed to be imbued with special powers. Various *dharaṇis* and their powers to deliver results have been presented to show the lay-oriented nature of exoteric Vajrayāna.

This social aspect of Buddhism is not a new phenomenon in Vajrayāna period. From the beginning, Buddhism introduced many practices to make the religion more this-worldly. This aspect of early Buddhism as a social religion has been discussed in chapter 2. But what is striking about Vajrayāna development is the scale and degree of practical aspect of Buddhism as reflected in emphasis on married monks (implicit in Vajrayāna emphasis on sexual union as part of practice), gods and goddesses, elaborate rituals to worship these deities and popularity of *dharaṇis*. Elaborate tabulation of instrumental functions of different Buddhist deities and *dharaṇis* is attempted in Chapter 2. Further, an attempt has been made to document the seed syllables of each deity as well other texts, which are used by the laity.

This social aspect of Buddhism brought to focus the support base of Buddhism, which is dealt in Chapter 5. The Vajrayāna texts, very abstruse in nature, do not help in this regard.[11] Limited epigraphic materials record donations by different groups. This has been tabulated in Chapter 5. The study shifts the focus from donation by

whom to 'markers' of support base, like the votive *stūpas*, clay seals, sealings, terracotta plaques, etc. Moreover, an attempt is made to document epigraphic evidence of habitational settlements, which came up in the period.

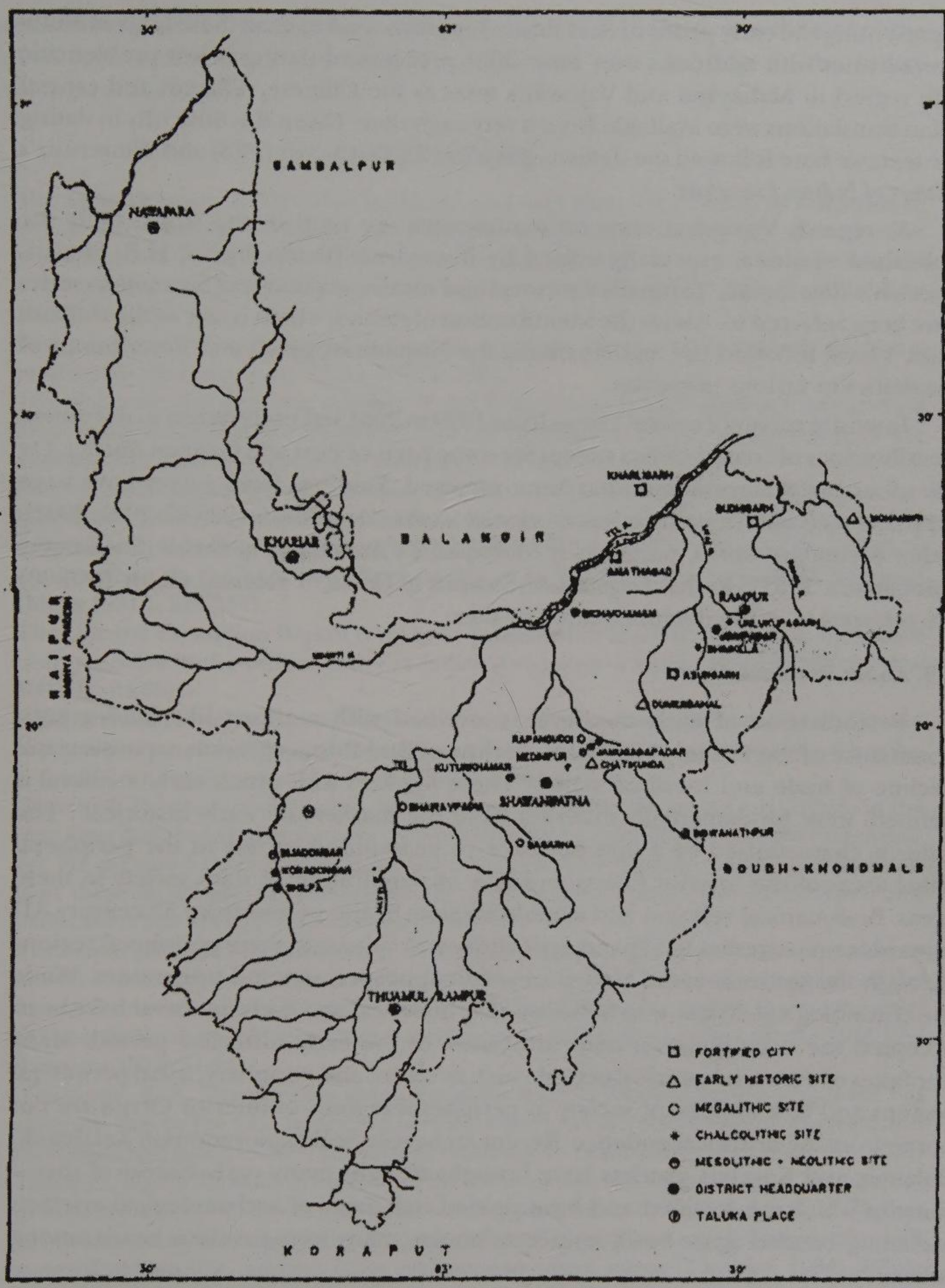
If one argues for a dynamic, expanding and vibrant Buddhism in early medieval Orissa, particularly at a time when brahmanical religions constructed large temples, incorporated autochthonous deities and made other innovations, how is the relationship between Buddhism and brahmanical religions conceptualised? This forms the subject-matter of Chapter 4. The study argues that both religions shared many common baseline concepts, like worship of deities, *maṇḍala* rituals, chanting of seed syllables of deities, and other rituals, like *snāpana, lepana.* In such an environment of commonalities, competition took place in a very subtle manner. I have identified seven processes in which Buddhism dealt with brāhmanical religion in a shared cultural matrix. The inter-religious equations form the subject matter of Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 discusses the evidence of the spread of Buddhism across the Bay of Bengal and in other regions from 6th - 7th century AD onwards. The emphasis is not on documentation of such a spread in Southeast Asia but the broader issues of maritime trade of 7th - 12th centuries and the religious context in which it operated. Buddhism in Southeast Asia did not take a completely independent trajectory in the post-7th century AD, as has been argued out in conventional historiography, but shows adaptation of many Buddhist themes of the Vajrayāna phase. One such theme is the building of *stūpa* on *maṇḍala* plan, as in the case of Candi Mendut and Borobodur. There are other evidence, which shows remarkable exchange of Buddhist ideas and themes among the people of the Indian Ocean in the post 6th-7th century AD. The period between 7th -12th centuries saw a remarkable trade boom in the Indian Ocean. It is to be noted that many of the Buddhist sites of the period are located in the vicinity of the seaports of Southeast Asia, indicating close association between Buddhism and trade. In fact, Amoghavajra, who took *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* to China through the Straits of Malacca went in a Persian ship. This aspect is highlighted to argue for the poly-religious context of maritime trade between 7th – 12th centuries AD.[12]

1.8. About Sources

Multiple sources have been used in the study of Buddhism. For the early historical development archaeological materials have been largely used. However, there is a note of caution. Most of the archaeological materials of the early historical period have not been found in their stratigraphic context but as surface finds. Moreover, it could not be completely ascertained whether the Buddhist deities are discovered *in situ* or, transferred from important Buddhist establishments, as in case of images in Cuttack town, which were brought from Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri in 19th century AD.

The use of numerous Buddhist texts to reconstruct 'practical Buddhism' has its own problems, as there was a time lag between their ascribed dates and final compilation. This is particularly true of many Pāli texts, which are regarded as



MAP No. 1
EARLY HISTORICAL SITES OF KALAHANDI

representing the early phase of Buddhism. Linguists tend to read these texts as multi-layered ones with additions over time. This problem of dating is less problematic with regard to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna texts as the Chinese, Tibetan and central Asian translations were available from a very early date. Given the difficulty in dating the texts we have followed the dates as given in *Pāli Text Society (PTS)* and Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature.*

As regards Vajrayāna texts no manuscripts are used in the study. Only the published versions, especially edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, H.P. Shastri, Roerich's *Blue Annals,* Tārānath's account and numerous books of Sata piṭaka series have been referred to. About the identification of deities, which is one of the difficult tasks, I have followed the Sādhanamālā, the Niṣpannayogāvalī and descriptions of the deities in various maṇḍalas.

Intensive survey of coastal Orissa from 1999 to 2001 was undertaken to document Buddhist sites of coastal Orissa except for some parts of Puri and Ganjam district. On the other hand Mayurabhañj has been surveyed. Findings from survey have been supplemented with Donaldson's authoritative works (Donaldson 1985-87; 2001, 2002). Other secondary works, particularly Mohapatra's *Archaeology of Orissa* (2 volumes) (Mohapatra 1987), Raths' *Forgotten Monuments of Orissa, 3 volumes)* (Rath 1995-96) are referred to in the documentation of sites.

1.9. About Periodisation

Periodisation of early medieval is ascribed with markers like land grants, dominance of the Puranic Hinduism, decline of Buddhism, agrarian expansion and decline of trade and localised state.[13] These markers with which early medieval is defined, were fundamentally different from the markers of 'early historical'. The latter is characterised by a thin presence of peasantised society in the peripheral tribal areas of the interior Orissa and lack of penetration of state society in these areas. Brahmanical religion and expanding state in the period from 5th century AD onwards came together to expand agriculture and culture to these peripheral regions through the instruments of land grants, cult appropriation and integration. While the chronological disjunction between early historical and early medieval have been accepted the stroy question may 'attributes' of the early historical period. Many attributes of the early historical period– such as centre and periphery, tribal peripheral regions and lack of peasant society in peripheral regions of interior Orissa are not borne from the historical evidence. Recent archaeological explorations in Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput districts have brought to light many early historical sites – some of which are fortified and have yielded rich array of archaeological artefacts including banded agate bowl, terracotta hooka, many semi-precious beads among others.[14]

The periodisation for the present study is also guided by three considerations: (a) the emergence of temples around 5th century AD (b) the beginning of Ratnagiri and expansion in Buddhist settlements in Orissa. On the other hand the *terminus ad*

quem is determined on the basis of tentative decline of Buddhism and the rise of the Cult of Jagannātha in 12th century AD, which had great bearing on the future developments of Orissa.

REFERENCES

1. The temples began to be constructed in a big way from 7th century AD onwards in Orissa. The Shatrughneswar group of temples of Bhubaneswar belongs to the earliest phase, dated to 7th century AD. By this time temple-building activity had already assumed a mature form, consolidating an earlier beginning of Kalinga-style temple architecture (Panigrahi 1961 a).
2. While some of the monolithic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri are *śārīrika stūpas*, the overwhelming number is votive in nature (Mitra 1981 I: 108).
3. The elaborate rituals in the worship of the Buddhist gods and goddesses are attested from many ethnographic studies of Tibetan Buddhism. Beyer has documented the complex rituals in the worship of Tārā (Beyer 1973).
4. *Dhāraṇi*, meaningless conglomeration of syllables, occasionally containing one or two intelligible words, were used as charm or prayer. Nepal's Durbar Library preserves a collection of *dhāraṇis* devoted to different deities (Shastri: 1915). Some of the *maṇḍalas* are inscribed on the back-slab of the deities, as in the Jāmbhala *maṇḍala* of Ratnagiri (Mitra 1981 I: 229-231).
5. The Lalitgiri Excavation Report is yet to be published by the ASI. Excavation finds have been reported in the various issues of *Indian Archaeology–a review* (*IAR* 1987-88: 88; *IAR* 1991-92: 84-86).
6. It is not known whether Parnadevati here refers to Parṇasabarī, the Buddhist goddess of chicken pox or a local deity. Bhadrakālī is a form of Pārvatī carrying a child on her lap and icnographically cannot be earlier than 12th century AD.
7 "Now near the coast of the ocean, on the top of the hill in the country of Odivisa in the east, king Buddhapakṣa in the later part of his built a temple called Ratnagiri (*Sin-chen-si-bo)*. He prepared three copies of the sculptural works of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and kept these in temple. He established there eight great centres for the doctrine and maintained 500 works (Chattopadhyaya 1971).
8. The Kanas plate of Bhanuvardhana of the Datta dynasty (5th-6th century AD) refers to *ambikā* Maninageśvarī, whose temple still exists on a steep hill near the capital of the former feudatory state of Ranpur. On the other hand Rajaguru prefers to read the deity as Maninageśvara than Maṇinageśvarī and found no reference to *aṁbikā.* (Kulke 1978:129; Rajaguru 1953: 31-46).
9. Curiously, R. S. Sharma cites many Buddhist texts to substantiate his argument but contends that by the time tantricism became a force in early medieval times Jainism and Buddhism had failed to offer any serious challenge to Brahmanism (Sharma 1974: 176).
10. Tambiah, who in his study of amulets of the forest monks of Thailand argues the potency of such objects and their worship by lay worshippers, takes the lead in this field. Studies of this kind have followed Weberian perspective of' objectification of charisma through material objects like amulets, seals, sealings and votive *stūpas* (Tambiah 1984). While Scheling, among others, argues that the monks primarily used such sacralised objects, the fact that these sealings are found in the storeroom of the Monastery II of Ratnagiri, suggests that they were stored in order to be distributed among the visiting pilgrims.

11. However some authors argue the emancipatory nature of Vajrayāna as it invokes in its texts lower-caste women as the preferred partner of the Buddhist *Siddhas.* See Shaw (1994).
12. Andre Wink considers that in the post-7th century AD Islam replaced Buddhism in Indian Ocean trade (Wink 1990).
13. While many important attributes of *early medieval India,* such as development of regional script and language, classical dance and regional nature of traditions are accepted; the precise mechanisms of such development are questionable. Such mechanisms like land grants to *brāhmaṇas,* localisation of economy, and dominance of brāhmanical hegemony in the sphere of ideology are not in congruity with our findings, which form the basis of the present study. For debate on chronological labels, see (Chattopadhyaya 1994: 1-35; Ray 2003: 275-91).
14. Pradeep Mohanty of Deccan College showed me in 2000 some fascinating artefacts from the early historical fortified site of Budhigarh. The most notables among the findings are a banded agate bowl, numerous precious and semi-precious stone beads, and beautiful tiny terracotta *hookas,* black- and Red ware, NBPW and typical polished red ware of early historical period. Recently Dillip Sebak has documented early historical sites in Tel and upper Mahānadī basin (Sebak 2004).

Chapter - 2

VAJRAYĀNA AS A SOCIAL RELIGION

2.1 Medieval Religions in Early Medieval Historiography

As outlined in the Introduction, historiography of early medieval India in general and Orissa in particular sketches the religious developments of the period in terms of spurt in brāhmanical religions on the one hand and corresponding decline of Buddhism on the other. The images gleaned from the existing literature and elaborated in Chapter I can be summarised thus:

- The brahmanical religion and culture became predominant and immensely popular.
- This occurred through land grants to the *brāhmaṇas*, construction of temples by kings, appropriation of tribal cults and their integration into brāhmanical religions and growth of pilgrimage.
- In the popularisation of brāhmanical religion and culture, there was a close interface between temporal and sacred authority, between kings and royal elite on the one hand and brāhmaṇas on the other. The political elite patronised temple building and a set of ideologies whose main protagonists were brāhmaṇas, the latter inventing these ideologies for the purpose of royal legitimisation.
- Tantric Buddhism was confined to peripheral areas where Vajrayāna Buddhism incorporated tribal autochthonous practices in order to bring tribal people of the peripheral areas into the fold of brāhmanical culture (Sharma 1974: 189).[1]

2.2 Degenerate and Imitative Hypothesis: Some Reflections

In contrast, Buddhism of early medieval times is characterised as 'degenerate'; which was reduced to psychosexual practises, with little or no resemblance with the 'Nibbanic Buddhism' of Buddha's times or the devotional bodhisattvahood of Mahāyānism. The conventional view is that Vajrayāna Buddhism was confined to a few pockets of eastern India. The abstruse and secret practises were limited to monastic

institutions without having any popular base or distinct identity of its own (Chakrabarti 2001: 142).[2] This dominant view projects Vajrayāna religion as a bundle of popular cults and superstitions without being 'organised'. It had no or very little popular base and was parasitic in nature as the monks and monastic institutions survived on royal patronage alone. As soon as the political elite shifted their patronage to brāhmanical religions, Buddhism declined in India. (Bhattacharyya 1981: 15)

Charges of corruption and degeneration originate in the assumption that the religion in question was essentially egalitarian, ascetic and hostile to magic but over time, displayed characteristics contrary to these. This line of argument has three shortcomings. The scholars who formed this view (mainly 19th century AD European scholars) studied Pāli scriptures in order to recover from them the teachings of the Buddha. But these texts contain other narratives besides Buddha's teachings, and there is no historically valid way to establish that his teachings were followed ad verbatim in the initial days of the religion. On the contrary, recent scholarship of Schopen and Huntington has questioned the basic assumptions about the nature of early Buddhism (Huntington 1992:111-56). The assumptions, which Schopen has questioned on the basis of epigraphic and archaeological evidence, include the followings:

- The assumption that monks did not venerate *stūpas* and images, nor perform other meritorious rituals;
- They did not exercise concern about their own dead;
- That the merit transference and filial piety are non-Buddhist accretion on the tradition
- That Buddha relics are totally lifeless
- That monastic practices are is distinct from lay practices.

On the other hand Schopen has concluded that Indian Buddhism was more than the sum total of its "*śāstras* where monks and nuns actually surpassed lay people as patrons and devotees of *stūpa* and image cults; where residents of monasteries not only handled but minted money and were often exceedingly rich and powerful; where the Buddha relic was virtually alive in his *stūpas*, treated as an exalted co-resident of the monasteries in which the *stūpa* existed and endowed with all the rights of regular residents there, including the ownership of property; where monks and nuns were actually quite preoccupied with the treatment of their own dead and possible evil consequence of failing therein." (Schopen 1997: 200– 278)

This deviation from Buddhist texts is only one strand of the changed paradigm. The other aspect, which is equally important, is the degree to which the Buddhist texts were actually known in later times. Epigraphic evidence, at least, does not support the idea that the Buddhist literature was widely known in actual Buddhist communities, but in fact, points in the opposite direction (Schopen 1989: 145).

The analysis of the nature of early Buddhism on the basis of early Buddhist texts was the result of ethnocenticism in the sense that those early scholars, who studied the Pāli texts, equated Buddhism with Christianity and Islam. Like these two religions, the early European scholars found Buddhism to be egalitarian and universal.

The third source of the 'decline hypothesis' stems from very little appreciation of the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism. Vajrayāna 'texts' were dismissed as 'imitative' and imbued with sexual symbolism. Vajrayāna literature was branded as abstruse, dense and philosophical. They need in-depth study, and those who skimmed through them treated these texts like a 'red herring', which provide little knowledge about the philosophical basis of Vajrayanism. Recent research has resulted in the publication of huge corpus of literature, which can now be brought into comparative relationship, both as regards to theory and practices with other religions, as well as the philosophical schools which existed in other periods.

Mahāyāna Buddhism is considered to be a 'right step in the popularisation of an ascetic religion'. On the contrary, Vajrayāna Buddhism is characterised as corrupt and degenerate. Vajrayāna Buddhism, on the other hand, was seen to have lost 'Buddhist tinge' and was a mere imitation of Brāhmanical religions and tāntricism. The answer to the question whether Vajrayāna Buddhism was 'Buddhist' in nature or not, consists in its receiving or not receiving sufficient acceptance within the body of teaching and practise of any group who considered themselves to be Buddhists. As regards to the question of imitative, non-distinguishable character of Vajrayāna, it is worth quoting Snellgrove:

> "It is indeed time that Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantras are based upon similar material and that many parallels may be obvious, but one may well ask at what previous stage of the doctrine was this not true." (Snellgrove, 1959 II: 7).[3]

However, these approaches take a very naīve view of the religious processes of early medieval India and in the process make oversimplistic generalisation. First, there are functional similarities between brāhmanical and Buddhist pantheon. However, such similarities cannot be argued as imitative because many of the Buddhist deities with their assigned functions developed quite early in comparison to their brāhmanical counterparts. For example, Xuanzang and I-tsing found altars dedicated to Hariti in every monasteries in India and her image, either in statutory form or painted on the wall, was always near the door of, or in the porch leading to the refectory (Beal 1958: 100-111). Hariti, as a form of mother goddess, antedates *Saptamātṛkā*. Moreover, the simultaneous patronage to different religions by the ruling powers of the day, like the Bhaumākaras and the Pālas, was not a new phenomenon, as opined by Chakrabarti, but goes back to the period of Aśoka and Khāravela (Chakrabarti 2001:142).

The Vajrayāna literature is in no way inferior to earlier Buddhist literature. It shows considerable knowledge of the subject, was well written and was serious in

their intention. In no sense is it degenerate or even inferior to the earlier commentaries on the Buddhist texts. It integrates tantra and gives a distinct Buddhist hue to it. And as argued in this chapter, it integrates tantra with Buddhist metaphysics of the *Mādhyamikakārika* and Yogācāra system. They attempted to make the religion more social by inventing divinities, *mantras* and ritual for their worship.

From the very beginning Buddhism tried to increase its social base by incorporating many features that provided instrumental benefits to the practitioners. This process continued into Vajrayāna phase. Vajrayāna Buddhism made an attempt to make the religion more practical by introducing many instrumental deities, elaborate rituals, priesthood and *dharaṇis*. The esoteric aspect – with secret tantra initiation, secret rites, complex psycho-sexual practices – is considered to be a spiritual advancement upon Mahāyānism; its exoteric aspects – instrumental deities, elaborate rituals, temple, priesthood – made Buddhism more this-worldly.

2.3 Practical Buddhism[4]

Buddhism made its beginning in the Indo-Gaṅgā Plain in 6th century BC. Normative Buddhism as found in *Pāli* canons revolved around, as Bateson has conceptualised, *anātma* (non-soul), *anatta* (impermanence), atheism, pessimism and reunion (Bateson 1911). The kind of salvation, which was promised to the mendicant monk, certainly was not that of the oppressed strata, which would have demanded compensation in the hereafter or this-worldly hopes for the future (Weber 1958: 228). The ideals that early Buddhism preached were meant for a religion made of well educated intellectuals recruited predominantly from great noble families and for rich burgher (*Ibid*, 225-227; Chakravarti 1987). This line of argument about the nature of early Buddhism loses its validity if one categorises normative Buddhism as an ideal type, distinguished from practical Buddhism. Edgerton (Edgerton 1942:151-156) has pointed out that Indian religious systems is characterised by ordinary norms for majority and extraordinary norms for a few who are oriented towards soteriological goal. Even early Buddhism made a conceptual distinction between *upāsakas* (lay worshipper) and the Bhikkhus (the wandering mendicants who have renounced the world). The religious life is considered to be a pilgrimage and so far as the worldling accepts these ordinary norms, attending to its message and complying with its disciplines, they are viewed as having reached the halfway house to normative Buddhism (Spiro 1982: 7). Despite the religion being conceptualised as providing a *mārga* to free one self from the 'wheel of life', Buddhist laity formed an important component of Buddhism and adopted practices contrary to normative Buddhism of the *Pāli* canon.

2.4 Early Development and Ritual Practices

Even though Buddha admonishes his disciples for rituals of various forms, they existed from a very early period. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* Buddha said to Ānanda,

> "Although it is proper for a Buddha to be given homage, it is not through ritual and offering that he is rightly honoured, reverenced, venerated, held

> sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister who continually fulfils all the greater and lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts...it is he who rightly honours reverences and reveres the Tathāgata with the worthiest homage." *(Mahāparinibbānā Sutta* vol. 3: 150).

However, many rituals, both expressive and commemorative, appeared in Buddhism from the beginning, which were believed to provide instrumental benefits, even though early Buddhism strictly prohibited instrumental rituals. The rituals of early Buddhism were primarily commemorative and expressive. Offering homage to the relics of Buddha, to *dharma Cakra* symbols were encouraged, but these rituals, in no way, affect one's salvation. They merely created a fertile condition for the growth of 'objects', which the Buddhists can identify as sacred. People thronging to worship symbols like Bo-tree relics are instances of expressive rituals, were represented in early arts of Sāñcī and Bharhut. Similarly is Aśoka's tour to express his reverence to Buddha and important places associated with his life is an example of expressive rituals.

The *Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka* records a conversation between Ānanda and the Master regarding the former's inquiry about three shrines to be made at Jetāvana *Vihāra of Śrāvastī.*[5] The master replied,

> "No Ānanda, not a body shrine, that kind is made when Buddha enters *Nirvāṇa.* A shrine of memorial is improper because the connection depends on the imagination only. But the great Bo-tree (Bodhi tree) used by the Buddha is for a shrine, be they alive or be the dead..."

Ānanda inquired, "Sir while you were away on pilgrimage, the great monastery is unprotected and the people have no place where they can show their reverence..." While planting the tree..."the instant it drops from his (Ānanda's) hand, before the eyes of all, up sprang as broad, no plough hand a Bodhi sapling, fifty cubits tall; on the four sides and upward, shot forth five great branches of fifty cubits in length, like the trunk. So stood the tree, a very lord of the forest already; a mighty miracle."

Replying on the importance of the Bodhi tree, the Buddha said, "there is no other place which can support me, if I sit there and attain to that which I attained in the enclosure of the great Bodhi tree'..."Sir", said Ānanda, "I pray you for the good of the people, to use this tree for the rapture of enlightenment, in so far as this spot of ground can support the weight..."At that time they (monks) began to talk of it in the Hall of truth: "Brother while yet the Tathāgata lived, the venerable Ānanda caused Bo-tree to be planted and great reverence to be paid to it." (Cowell 1957: 142-149).

This important tale, quoted at length, offers several significant insights. First, Buddha approved expressive rituals like worshipping of Bodhi tree and also body relic. Second, the miracles associated with the planting of Bodhi tree and subsequent observations of Ānanda, made the 'object' sacred, and invested it with miraculous power. Third, the physical presence of the Buddha assured protection to the people;

in his absence and after his *Nibbāna*, the Bodhi tree and holy relic would take his place and hence, they enjoy hallow, sacredness and power of the physical Buddha. Lastly, the fact that Ānanda succeeded in the task of planting the Bodhi tree as a substitute of the Buddha even when he was alive, and which fellow monks note as something unique and subject of conversation marked the beginning of worshipping the sacred objects around him.

The realm of sacred is not seen in a binary category in opposition to 'profane' but to suggest something which is imbued with supernatural power and hence, an object of awe and respect. Thus, his *mahādhātu* (relic) and other symbols had spiritual powers (like that of consecrated images in Hinduism) and are conceived of magical power stations. The spiritual power emanating from the sacred objects which commemorate the Buddha – the Bo-tree, *dharma-Cakra* symbol or corporeal relic – is attested from the above-mentioned *Jātaka* where Ānanda exhorted the Master to sit under the Bo-tree as to invest the place with powers, which would help others in their rapture to enlightenment. The Buddha's attainment of enlightenment is symbolised by various symbols of his corporeal relic, and when people pay respect to and give gifts to them, goodness is caused to arise within them, and therefore, the symbols of Buddha act as a fields of merit. All these sacred objects are called '*Cetiyas*' (from which *Caitya* has come) on account of tranquillity they brought about in mind. Thus from the very beginning the Buddha was regarded as one who was invested with spiritual, miraculous powers; by worshipping him one can attain merit. Buddhism of early period developed reminders whom the people worshipped and paid homage to namely (a) *śarīradhātu Cetiya* (corporeal relic), (b) *dhamma Cetiya* (doctrinal reminders), (c) *paribhoga Cetiya* (reminders by association which include Bo-tree, alms bowl, etc. and (d) *uddesika Cetiya* (indicative reminders like, footprints, representation of great events in Buddha's life as in Sāñcī and Bharhut (Griswold 1968:14).

Fa-hein and Xuanzang refer to a tradition about the origin of Buddha image in the lifetime of Buddha himself. Whereas Fa-hein was only reporting a tradition about the origin of a Buddha image, Xuanzang claims to have seen such an image of the Buddha in sandalwood at a large *vihāra* in *Kauśāmbi* in contrast to Fa-hein's account of the image belonging to Śrāvastī (Beal, vol. 1: 235–6). Fa-hein's account of the origin of Buddha's image during Buddha's absence in Śrāvastī is recorded in the *Pannasa Jātaka* (originated in northern *Chieng-mein* in Thailand in 13th-14th century AD). A certain *Jātaka* tale known in Burma as *Chieng-mein*, which is extra-canonical, and is unknown to Buddhist traditions anywhere except in the countries of Southeast Asia, contains a story about the origin of Buddha's image, which resembles closely with the account of Fa-hein. The thirty-seventh *Jātaka* of this collection, entitled *Vattāṅgula-rāja-jātaka* contains a reference to the first image of Buddha, made in Śrāvastī by king Prasenjit in Buddha's absence (Vaidya 1961:100). I-tsing also refers to Buddha's image in Śrāvastī but instead of a sandalwood image, he refers to a golden coloured image of Buddha (I-tsing 1966: 190).[6]

Whether these later accounts refer to an actual historical tradition is not conclusively proved but worship and paying homage to the Buddha's reminders in

early times was prevalent and popular during early Buddhism. They were considered as 'fields of merit.' This worship and devotion to various *Cetiyas* started in Buddha's time (Schopen 1987; 1989 b).[7] One important ritual, the *Confession of Faith*, which refers to taking refuge in the Buddha, in the *saṅgha* and in the *Dharma*, is an instance of universalisation and internalisation of an important ritual of paying obedience to the 'Cetiyas' associated with the Buddha. The first reference to *Confession of Faith* is found in the *Khuddaka Patha.* (*Khuddaka Patha* 1960).

In early Buddhist literature Gautama Buddha was projected as one who followed a succession of Buddhas beginning with Vipassi. The fact that the historical Buddha was projected as one who merely followed a tradition was seen as a justification for the future Buddha, Maitreya Bodhisattva, who is believed to be now residing in the Sukhavati heaven. He will be born in a Brahmin family to resurrect waning Buddhism. The first reference to Maitreya Bodhisattva is found in the *Milindapañoh* (Thorner I 1964: 159) and the *Cakkavatti Sihanāda Suttānta* of the *Digha Nikāya.* Even though the ŚĀKYAMUNI had achieved *Parinibbāna,* till such time when Maitreya comes as the Buddha, the 'reminders' will take care of the *dhamma* and the order (*saṅgha*).

2.5 *Cetiyas*, Pilgrimage and Community Identity:

The development of cult worship in the form of *Cetiyas* of the Buddha had profound effect. These objects provided an immediate context to layworshippers to identify themselves as Buddhist brethren (Turner 1978; Eade 1991).[8] They brought together people from different quarters and led to greater interaction between laity and monks. Pilgrimage and paying homage to Buddha in sacred sites was considered to be an important ritual in early Buddhism. Buddha himself states the importance of pilgrimage. In an oft-quoted passage of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* Ānanda asks the Buddha what the monks should do after his death when they were no longer able to receive his audience. The Buddha replied:

> There are four places, Ānanda which the believing man should visit with the beliefs of reverence and awe. Which were the four? The place where the Tathāgata attained the Supreme and perfect insight, the place...the kingdom of righteousness was set on foot by the Tathāgata. The place....at which the Tathāgata finally passed away. The pilgrims upon visiting the sacred sites will say, "here was Tathāgata born (*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*: 1921: 54).

It is to be noted that Aśoka while on his Dhamma yātrās, repeated the same formula in the Rumindei Pillar inscription (Hultzsch 1991: 164-65).

The growth of pilgrimage and sacred sites led to corresponding changes in Buddhist saṅgha, which was often found near the Buddhist sacred site or *stūpa*, which contains the Buddha or his disciples' relics. The change from eremitical to cenobetical life occurred due to increasing association with the layworshippers, who gave *dāna* (gifts) to monks and Buddhist establishments. The interaction and resultant gifts to monks led to the growth of a permanent *saṅgha.* From the beginning the Buddhist monks maintained their distinctiveness. The Buddhist *saṅgha* was called the *saṅgha*

of '*Bhikkhus of the four quarters*' and others called it *Śākyaputra Śramaṇa.* There were bonds of çommon dharma, a body of cardinal doctrines and a master (*sattha*). However, the institutionalisation of *saṅgha* took place with the introductions of *pattimokha,* of which *uposatha* was the most important. *Vassā* provided a context for union of different monks at one place. Originally a disciplinary code, *Pattimokha* was transformed to a congregational ritual. Rain retreat developed as a necessity, grew up as a ceremonial observance of a *Bhikkhus.* Rain retreat in collective bodies occurs in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* where the Buddha calls upon the *Bhikkhus* to spend the *vassa* "each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances and inmates lived around (*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* II: 27).

At first the *vihāras* served as lodging houses for the individual monk. This is also known from the architecture of early monastic complex. (Ferguson: 1910). The early cave monastery like the Jivatarama monastery of Rajgir is a single cell dwelling. Subsequently *vihāras* developed as a whole complex within an enclosure where many monks resided in contrast to earlier times when the *vihāras* used to be a private apartment of a single *Bhikkhu.* The third stage in the development was *uposatha-gṛhya.* Subsequently in early centuries of the Christian era, the *vihāras* became elaborate structures, with a planned layout that includes courtyard, a number of cells, kitchen and sanctuary within the monastery (Dutt 1962: 61).

The mythological aura around the sacred places and objects was highlighted both in art and texts. The *Aśokavādana* refers to how a free spirit who had witnessed the birth of the Buddha described the glory of infant's form to king Aśoka. At Bodh Gayā the serpent king Kalika who encountered the Buddha immediately before the enlightenment recounted his (the Buddha) body splendour.

The eyewitness accounts of free spirit, serpent king, which sent Aśoka to ecstasy of devotion, emphasises the person the lord was, his charismatic qualities at pilgrimage sites (Strong 1983: 246). Artists at Sāñcī chose to depict two such encounters of Aśoka at Buddhist sacred places – the visit to the Bodhi tree and the encounter with the *nāgas* at the *Rāmagrāma* stūpa. The visit of emperor Aśoka to the *Bodhi* tree is depicted on the eastern *toraṇa* of Sāñcī *stūpa.* The art of Bharhut and Sāñcī depict many of the *Jātakas* and popular stories associated with the Buddha's supernatural powers. Among the iconical sign, the focus was on the worship of *stūpa* by devotees with the beat of music, dance and offering. Other iconical signs represent sacred sites like Sāranāth and Bodh Gayā (on the adjacent sides of the west pillar of the southern gateway), one featuring

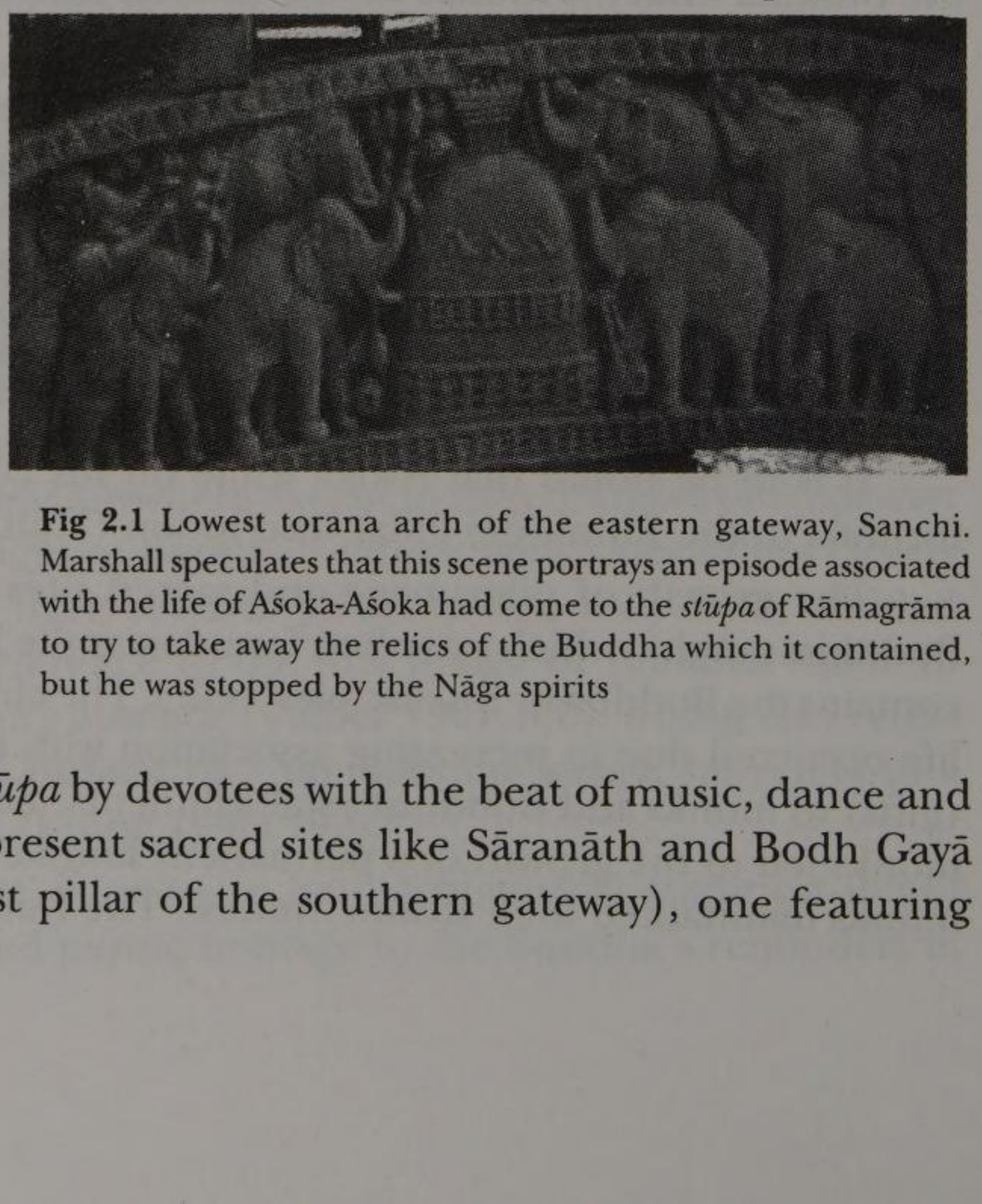


Fig 2.1 Lowest torana arch of the eastern gateway, Sanchi. Marshall speculates that this scene portrays an episode associated with the life of Aśoka-Aśoka had come to the *stūpa* of Rāmagrāma to try to take away the relics of the Buddha which it contained, but he was stopped by the Nāga spirits

Fig 2.2 Stūpa worship in the middle architrave Stūpa 3, Sāñcī

pillar, and the other, a tree. Indexical signs which represent the Buddha in the form of footprints are also depicted in early Buddhist art (Dehejia 1997: 36-54).[9] These representations in sacred sites bound the devotees in direct communion with the life of the Master. These visual narratives in the sacred sites were preached among the laity by distinguished preachers, called *dhammakathika, bhānakas.* Epigraphic records of Sāñcī; Bharhut, Karle refer to *bhānakas* (*EI*VIII 9: 155; *EI* II 33: 36; Cunningham 1962 no.45: 230).

The efficacy of pilgrimage and worship of cults is attested in the Buddhist literature. The *Sutta Piṭaka* especially abounds with passages describing the fruit of worshipping the Buddha and the *cetiyas* associated with him. In the *Milindapañoh,* the king of Sagala queried that since the Buddha is dead, how can he accept gifts? Nāgasena answered that even homage paid to the attainment of the supreme god under the form of jewel treasure of his wisdom the people themselves attain one or the other glorious states (Thorner 1964 II: 144-54).

"Therefore it is great king that acts done to the Tathāgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting then are, nevertheless of value and bear fruit." (*Ibid.*) The *Mahāvastu,* one of the earliest Mahāyāna texts, proclaimed the efficacy of worshipping the Buddha and his *Cetiyas.* By worshipping a *Paribhogiya Cetiya* the text continues, "the devotees become wealthy, affluent, ablaze splendour and a mighty universal king and inhabitant of heaven (*Mahāvastu* 2: 329-54).

2.6 Mahāyāna Development– Bodhisattvas, Devotion and Transference of Merits

Buddhist rituals and worship became more elaborate with the Mahāyāna emphasis on the worship of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas.* It highlighted the works of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who are 'skill in means' (*upāya kauśala*), who strive tirelessly for the upliftment of all beings. Skill in means (*upāya kauśala*) allowed Buddhism to be spelled out in details while not being ensnared by the false discrimination of the unenlightened. Skill in means is about the way in which the meaning of Buddhism was correlated with the unenlightened conditions of living beings. It brings out particularly how Mahāyānists thought Buddhism as a religion to be understood. The concept was used to explain/ accommodate various existence of Buddhism as a functioning religious system (Pye 1978: 1). In this notion the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas assume different roles in order to take mankind in right direction to the final goal of enlightenment. Since lay-worshippers cannot understand the high wisdom of śūnyatā, the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas preached the essentials in a language that is in conformity with people's needs and abilities. The abilities to frame salutary statements and to act in conformity

with people's needs spring from this faculty of *upāya kauśala*, which came to the Bodhisattva quite late, *i.e.* on the seventh stage, when the *prajña-pāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) has thoroughly shown him the emptiness of everything (*ibid.*, 21). Even though the Buddhas know the fundamental unity of all dharmas (qualities) and have inner grasp of the nature of diverse factors of existence, the *Tathāgata* is able to discriminate in rightful manner for different people.

Thus, the doctrine of 'Skilful Means' justifies many facets of Mahāyāna Buddhism at the existential level. While the doctrine of *śūnyatā* gave a philosophical justification to the new religion and pantheon, the doctrine of 'Skilful Means' brought about changes at four levels : (a) in the *Vinaya* rules where old rigid rules gave away to flexibility in the doctrines; (b) in the doctrines where the emphasis was shifted from arhathood to bodhisattvahood; (c) in the interaction with the laity where the monks became increasingly associated with them in different roles — as astrologer, as healer, as a ritual specialist. The Mahāyāna Buddhism even created a popular Buddha called Bhaisajyaguru, the Buddha the healer and (d) in the form of *pāramitās*, where the emphasis was on *dāna*. However, *Karma* (good work) acted as a restraining factor in the opportunistic use of *upāya kauśala*. It is not that all acts can be justified as 'skilful means'; only those actions, which are productive of merit, can be justified as a necessity.

The concept of Bodhisattvahood was extremely fertile. It succeeded in coalescing two phenomena, which are sociologically distinct. On the one hand, it provided an altruistic rationale to the increasing association of the monks in the everyday affairs of the laity and worldly religious action (the rational comes from *upāya kauśala*) and accepted the acceleration of a married clergy. On the other, the *bodhisattva* doctrine permitted the development of a pantheon of Buddhist saints whose essential natures and iconographic forms had derived from the attributes of Śākyamuni Buddha.

The most important characteristic of Bodhisattva was his *karuṇā* (compassion). His compassion was boundless and infinite and reached even to the lowest of low beings. In the *Gaṇakārundavyūhya*, where the example of Avalokiteśvara, the all-compassionate Bodhisattva is set up, the latter refused his salvation, though fully entitled to, until all creatures of the world were in possession of Bodhi knowledge (Mitra 1981:95). Derived from his insight, which sees unity of things, he is seized by compassion for fellow beings, who suffer from the burden of their *karma*; still others who have acquired unfortunate births which keep them away from the Buddha and his teachings. The Bodhisattva radiates great friendliness and compassion over all those beings and gives his attention to their thinking, "I shall release them from all their sufferings." (*Astasāhaśrika XXII*: 402-04). "The whole world of living beings must resume from the terror of birth, of old age, of sickness, of death and rebirth, of all kinds of moral offences, of all states of woe, of the whole cycle of birth and death... from all these terrors I must rescue. My endeavours do not merely aim at my own deliverance. For with the help of the boat of the thought of all knowledge, I must rescue all beings from the streams of *saṁsāra* which is difficult to cross." (*Śīkṣāsamuccāya*: 280-281). The twin characteristics of the Bodhisattvas —*karuṇā* and

skilfulness increased the appeal of the Mahāyāna system. It brings in the externality elements in the form of dedication of merits. Further, the *karuṇā* of Bodhisattva ensures a helping hand for people suffering from distress. The concept of saviours (*traraṇa*) added to the appeal of Bodhisattva. Here was a deity who worked for the people in distress. He demanded not any austere *samādhi* (meditation) but only devotion and faith. He worked tirelessly for all people who are "self sufficient and self-inflated; suspicious, crooked and faithless in mind. Men such as those are hard to be saved (Kato *et al.* 1971: 49). What the devotee has to do is to learn (*grahaṇa*) his name and bearing this in mind (*dhārayati*), invoke him, to pay homage to him, to recollect of him, think of him without hesitation of Avalokiteśvara, the being so pure in death, disaster and calamity. He is the saviour, refuge and resort. The merit derived from bearing his name in the mind or chanting the classic formula Om *Maṇipadma Hum* (*Gaṇa Karandavyūhya*) or even paying homage to him is immeasurable and lasts through aeons. The other 'saviour' is Tārā, who developed quite late but acquired great popularity from 6th century AD onward. Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, Amitābha occupy place of prominence and popularity. Amitābha, the Perfectly Enlightened presides in the Sukhavati heaven. He is a famous Mahāyāna deity and his *mantra* is found everywhere in Japan. These three and Mañjūśrī, the god of wisdom are the four most popular deities in the Buddhist pantheon. The *Amitābhavyuhya* contains information about Amitābha's forty-eight vows in front of Buddha Lokeśvararāja.

The Buddhists were exhorted to show devotion to them, and to invoke their mantras. A simple act of faith could fetch double results: one through his faith, worship and devotion and the other through the transfer of merit of the bodhisattvas, when faith is turned to them. The *Śikṣāsamuccāya* in its *Ratnamegha* section speaks of celestial birth, untainted by the impurities of womb" as a result of consecration of stūpa. "Verily for countless aeons he is not born or lame if he venerates stūpas of teachers (*Śikṣāsamuccāya*: 291-300). The devotion to Avalokiteśvara brings out immeasurable merit. " In quarrels, disputes and strife; in battle of men and in greater danger, to recollect the name of Avalokiteśvara will appease the troop of the evil foes (*Saddharmapuṇḍarika* XXIV, vv: 17 – 27). The longer exposition of the same text (verse 95) elaborates the efficacy of simple devotional actions, such as drawing or painting images of the Buddha or paying homage at the stūpa or shrine with flowers, incense, flags and umbrella or even employing others to perform to music (*ibid*: 57). The *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* elaborates: "Or those who have offered worship by folding the hands or even raising a hand or by slightly bending the head; By this paying homage to the images gradually see the innumerable Buddha; themselves attain the supreme way extensively brings across countless and enter *nirvāṇa* without residue (*ibid*: 58).

In his account, I-tsing gives elaborate reference to such practices in India and Southeast Asia. He talks about the consecration of stūpa in household, visit of monk to perform the rituals in consecration, elaborate rituals associated with it and ritual meals and so on (Takakusu 1966:150).[10]

2.7 Vajrayāna as a Social Religion

Vajrayāna Buddhism combines the devotional needs of the masses with meditation practices of the *Yogācāra* School and the metaphysics of the *Mādhyamika* in a framework, which these serious practitioners claimed to be Buddhist in nature. Vajrayāna Buddhism catered to the devotional need of the masses by inventing Buddhism, where one finds numerous Buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses, both in peaceful and wrathful moods. Each god and goddess was assigned an instrumental role to fulfil the everyday needs and aspirations of the masses. The germ syllable (*bījamantra*) of each deity is believed to possess magical powers and recitations of these mantras guarantee fulfilment of desires. It also incorporated other elements of the period, *viz.* incorporation of deities from brāhmanical religion, incorporation of motifs and symbols from it, incorporating tribal, Tāntric-goddess tradition to its fold as well as developed an elaborate ritual structure. The philosophical basis of Vajrayāna is the *śūnyavāda* of the *Madhyamikakārika*, while the rationale for psycho-yogic practices was derived from the principle of the *Yogācāras*, thus ensuring significant continuity with the Mahāyāna tradition.

2.8 Vajrayāna Buddhism: Basic Tenets

The normative goal of Vajrayāna is the attainment of '*bodhicitta*', which is a state of *mahāsukha* (great bliss). This is an ineffable state. The summon bonum is described both in earlier Buddhist literature as well as in brāhmanical literature as an ineffable state and hence, the emphasis on *mahāsukha* is essentially a continuum of earlier tradition even though the nomenclature changed in this period. However, the soteriological means, it prescribes, distinguishes Vajrayāna Buddhism from earlier *yānas*. In Buddhism of the early period, the highest state of *Nibbana* is located either in the next birth as in the career of bodhisattva (in Mahāyāna Buddhism) or at the termination of one's rebirth as in canonical Buddhism. However, the Vajrayāna was unwilling to postpone this soteriological aspiration to future existence; for them, salvation is an imminent goal to be achieved in the present and immediate existence (The *Guhyasamāj Tantra* : 167) *Sahajayāna*, a form of Vajrayāna Buddhism, as the name suggests aims at realising the ultimate and innate nature of the 'self' as well as of the dharma and it is *sahaja* because it prescribes the way in the most natural way, *i.e.* by following the path along which human nature itself leads him. Esoteric Buddha is called Vajrayāna (Adamantine vehicle) because like vajra (the thunderbolt), the 'Absolute' (identified with *śunya*) is firm, substantial, indivisible, impenetrable, incapable of being burnt and imperishable (Snellgrove 1959b II: 37). Vajrayāna Buddhism developed with three forms — *Mantrayāna*, *Sahajayāna* and *Kālacakra yāna*. In *Mantrayāna*, the emphasis was on proper recitation of the *mantras*; *Sahajayāna* refers to the innate nature of the self and natural soteriological means. *Kālacakrayāna* is associated with the development of wrathful deities in Vajrayāna Buddhism.

The main aim of the Vajrayāna was to attain *bodhicitta*, which embodies both *śūnyata* (identified with *prajña*/wisdom) and compassion (*karuṇā*). They identified

śūnyata with *vajra* (the Absolute). In Vajrayāna Buddhism all deities, articles of worship are marked with *vajra* to distinguish them from their originally accepted nature. The supreme deity of Vajrayāna, Vajrasattva (derived from *vajra=śūnyata* and *sattva*=essence), who is the nature of Pure Conscience (from the *Yogācāra* tradition) is associated with *śunyata* in the form of absence of subjectivity and objectivity. In Vajrayāna practice, particularly in *Sahajayāna, śūnyata* and *karuṇā*, the two elements to be united for the production of bodhicitta, were identified with the female and male principles. Unlike brāhmanical *Śākta tantra,* in Vajrayāna, *prajña* (female principle) is given a dominant role. The coming together of the two leads to *bodhicitta,* which is conceived as an extremely blissful state of mind, and could be attained by pscho-yogic practices. The iconographic form of this principle is found in the *yuganadha* (yab-yum) deities of Vajrayāna.

The realisation of *bodhicitta* entails a rigorous method. The first step of which is to seek a guru who will initiate the seeker. After initiation, the steps include specific recitation of mantras, invocation of a particular deity, representation of *maṇḍalas,* representing *sunya* in mind, ritual union with *yoginī,* etc. the entire ritual process is saturated with symbolism. To label these as rituals having symbolic significance are to ignore the fact that symbolic elements are integral to the ritual system of Vajrayāna. The rituals of Vajrayāna involve practices, which are in contradictions of early Buddhism. But these practices are symbolic in nature and they cannot be understood without decoding these symbols. Externally they involve practices which are authentical to canonical or Mahāyāna/*sūtra* Buddhism, but these practices cannot be understood on the model of conduct in the sphere of science which organises means to achieve ends on a foundation of essential grasp of cause and effect (Parson, 1937:209).[11] Ritual means and ends are connected by symbolic longevity. And this becomes clear once one grasps the symbolic significance of ritual practices and complexes.[12]

2.9 Philosophical Continuity

The Vajrayāna practices which in its extreme form includes five '*m*' *kāras* (*matsya, madya, maithuna,* etc.) are in direct opposition to the earlier Buddhist practices. Both canonical texts and *sūtra* literature of Mahāyāna emphasise on *sīla.* In older Buddhism the higher planes of spiritual life were considered to be beyond the reach of woman. Even the early Mahāyāna teaches that in the Sukhavati heaven of Amitābha, there is no woman. The reservation against the female was also emphasised in the *Sadharmapuṇḍarika* in a story about a Bodhisattva, who was a daughter of a dragon king turned into a man when she attained Bodhisattvahood (*Sadharmapuṇḍarika*: 226-228).

However, the later Mahāyāna texts began to include in its fold the female principle and emphasised its relevance. The worshippers are enjoined to identify with Prajñapāramitā and merge with the principle of femininity, without which they will be mutilated men. Like a woman, the Perfect Wisdom deserves to be courted and wooed and the *Sūtras* on Prajñapāramitā constitute one long affair with the Absolute. Meditation on her as a goddess has the purpose of getting inside her. In Vajrayāna a sexual attitude

to Prajñapāramitā is explicit when Prajña is identified with the female principle. However, the philosophical justification of these sexo-yogic ritual practices has the undertone of all the seriousness. This is obvious from the tenor of the many Vajrayāna texts and commentaries.

Like Nāgārjuna's *śūnyata*, the Vajrayāna Buddhism believed in the essential identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṁsāra* and believed in the reality of Absolute void which pervades everywhere. The Absolute is defined as thought in pure cognition and all phenomenal existence as mere representation of mind. What causes to perceive the duality between *saṁsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is the accidental defilement (*āgantuka kamala*) which inhibits man to realise the Buddhahood in them (Snellgrove 1959 b II: 20). The purpose of *yogin* (seeker) is to realise the essential Buddhahood by removing these defilement. The whole training of the yogin is to 'conceive of existence in the knowledge of its non-existence,' and one will automatically realise its pure nature which is innate and a matter for self-experience.

This can be achieved by using existence itself as the means (*upāya*) for there is no other possibility. One creates mentally (*bhavayati*) an idealised representation of the process of emanation of existence (*utpattikrama*), which is the *saṁsāra*, and by realising the dream like nature of its apparent diversity one realises its unity in this process of realisation, which is *nirvāṇa*.

To realise the unity of existence, one needs to have *karuṇā* (compassion) which is the 'means' (*upāya*) and *prajña* (wisdom). The coming together of the two leads one to 'think'. Both Vajrayāna iconography and symbols reflect this unity of the two, *viz.*, Hevajra means He = compassion; vajra wisdom). Wisdom is represented by lotus, bell, etc.

Table 2.1: Various Symbols of *Prajña* (wisdom) and *karuṇā* (compassion)

	Cosmical	*Sexual*	*Biological*	*Vocal*	*Philosophical*	*Doctrinal*
Masculine	Moon	*Vajra*	*Śukra*	*Kāli*	*Grāhaka*	*Upāya*
Fem.	Sun	*Padma*	*Rakta*	*Ali*	*Gṛhya*	*Prajñā*
Union	Fire	*agni*	*Bīja*	*Akṣara*	*Citta*	*Bodhicitta*

Other facets of Vajrayāna like imagine forms, divinities, and seed syllables, symbolism represent the identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṁsāra*. This unit of the *upāya* and *prajña* is called the body, speech and mind of all the Buddhas, as the Three Adamantine ones, as the unit of the three states of being. The absolute pervades of all things and there is nothing other than this but it, which transcends all other things.

2.10 Tantric Practices

The yogins engage in intense meditation on the absolute by mental representation of the deity and by invocation of the deity by reciting the seed syllable,

representation of deities in *maṇḍala*, ritual union with the yogin and other psychic exercises. The practices of the yogin can be summarised thus: 1. Recitation of spells, 2. Performance of ritual gesture, 3. Identification with the deities by means of a special kind of meditation. The system of meditation on deities is marked by a sequence of four steps, 1. There is the understanding of *Śūnyata* and the sinking of one's separate individuality into that of emptiness, 2. Recitation of seed syllable, 3. One form, say mental representation of deity, as in a sculpture, 4. Through identification, one becomes deity.

One important aid in Tantric practice is the representation of *maṇḍalas* (see Chapter 3). The ritual union of the yogin with the yogini represents the coming together of *upāya* and *prajña*. This particular rite is envisaged as proceeding by four steps, which are marked by consecration by the guru, and are experienced as four successive joys known at five successive moments.

2.11 Vajrayāna Deities

The Vajrayāna Buddhists developed family of five Dhyāni Buddhas who are ultimately linked to Ādi Buddha, the primeval Buddha. The Vajrayāna pantheon as developed in Buddhism around 7th century AD offers rich diversity in iconographic forms as well in their instrumental roles. Their conception of Godhead made even minor ritual objects as deity. The Buddhist pantheon, which became full-blown in this period, provides interesting evidence of religious competition, borrowing from other religions, adaptation and incorporation of iconographic symbols and integration of them in the Buddhist framework. They developed a rich variety of deities. These deities were invested with certain instrumental roles. The worshipper by worshipping these deities in specified manner could attain certain instrumental goals.

2.11.1. *Philosophical Basis of Vajrayāna Pantheon*

In Vajrayāna form of Buddhism the external world has no existence, the only reality is *śūnyata* which is also identified with *Bodhicitta*. The yogin regards himself as a chain of momentary consciousness full of compassion for humanity and invokes the aid of *śūnyata* with the three elements – *śūnya, vijñāna* (compassion) and *mahāsukha* (great bliss). The aid of these three elements can be invoked when the Bodhi mind of the yogin is also with the *śūnya* and only when this is done, the Absolute responds. In accordance with the germ syllable or the purpose for which the Absolute is invoked, the Absolute takes the form of divinity with which *Bodhicitta* is identified (*Sādhanamālā* I: xxix). The identification makes the yogin inherit all the power of the deity and realise the deity

The *Sādhanamālā* gives minute description of the forms of these Buddhist divinities. The deities vary according to the purpose for which he/she is invoked and, hence the Vajrayāna pantheon includes numerous deities, each is assigned with specific roles. Thus, the invocation of deities, according to the *Sādhanamālā*, is to

realise the divinity within. The *Śrī Vajrāmṛta-tantra* states, " Why does one speak of divinity? In the body is located the body 'possessor', in order to comprehend, there is the comprehender, in order to comprehend oneself, and there is divinity. For this reason one speaks of divinity." (Wayman 1996: 45)

2.11.2 Pentadic Classification

The multifarious form of Ādi Buddha is neatly divided into different families to form a complete system. The families are conventionally five and from them, all others have sprung up. They are *vajra, tathāgata, ratna, padma* and *karma.* The five skandhas (elements) are identified with five Dhyāni Buddhas – Vairo-cana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi. They are regarded as progenitor of respective families (for their emanation and sculptural representation in Orissa see Ch. 3).

The pentadic classification is generalised at many other levels to include many other aspects. The following table gives a list of such a pentadic classification :

Table 2.2 : Pentadic Classification in vajrayāna Buddhism.

Five quarters	*Embodiment of personality*	*Root evils*	*Buddhas*	*Their Consorts*	*Seed syllable*	*colour deity*	*Guardian*	*Family Symbols*
Centre	Vijñāna (Consciousness)	Moha	Vairocana	Locana	Buṁ	White	—	*Cakra*
East	Rūpa (Form)	Dveśa	Akṣobhya	Mamaki	Huṁ	Blue	Yamāntaka	*Vajra*
West	Saṁjñā (Perception)	Rāga	Amitābha	Pandara	Jriṁ	Red	Padmāntaka	*Padma*
North	Saṁskāra (conformation)	Irśā	Amogha-siddhi	Tārā	Khaṁ	Green	Vijñāntaka	*Khaḍga*
South	Vedanā (sensation)	Paiśūnya	Ratnasam-bhava	Vajradh-atisvara	Aṁ	Yellow	Prajñān-	*Ratna*

Through such pentadic classification and philosophical explanation, the Buddhists achieved several things at the same time. First they incorporated *tantra. Tantra* became Buddhistic. Second, they were successful in exotericise the esoteric doctrine of *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* and render the religion full of life by miracles of boldest symbolism filling space with divine and hallucinatory visions. Third, the Buddhist theologians, by making use of finest doctrinal points, had constituted a scholarly theory of popular religion. They took into account the everyday aspect of religion by assigning specific roles to the deities, by incorporating popular elements. By 8th - 9th century AD, Śaktism became quite widespread.[13] Buddhism incorporated female goddesses and associated rituals into its fold. Vajrayāna Buddhism, rather than being a degenerate form of Buddhism, tried to make the religion practical by innovating new deities, rituals and practices.

2.12. ***Motivational Basis - Vajrayāna as an Instrumental Religion***[14]

In a way the innovation of multitude gods and goddesses could be seen as a

culmination of the process of making Buddhism more instrumental. The soteriolgy of Vajrayāna is the attainment of *śūnyata,* which can be achieved by esoteric means, but as an exoteric religion, it is more akin to *Śrāvakayāna* and Mahāyāna. The similarities with *Śrāvakayāna* and Mahāyāna were over the worship of Buddha, chanting of *mantra,* monastic ritual like *caityavandanā,* etc. Gellner has shown in his studies of Newar Buddhism that in practice, Newar Buddhists (who are mainly Vajrayāna followers) rites are *Śrāvakayāna* during the rites themselves, but bracketed by an inoffensive exoteric version of the Vajrayāna. The *Saṁvarodaya Tantra* (17.1-6) had described the characteristics of a *vajra* master, which include the ideas of Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna (Tsuda 1974: 274) In the exoteric form of Vajrayāna the deities appear without their female partner and singly. In Orissa not a single image is found embracing his *prajña.* This tradition of observing *śrāvaka* practices in a limited context within a framework of Vajrayāna is characterised as Mahāyāna in Nepal (Gellner 1996: 143-144). Buddhism in practice was closer to this form in Orissa during 7th-12th centuries AD. There are two reasons to support such a formulation. First, there is not a single Buddhist male god found embracing his *Prajña,* which is an integral part of Vajrayāna ritual. This suggests that rituals were more *Śrāvakayāna* in its form. The second evidence in support of such a formulation is that Vajrayāna Buddhism was not restricted to serious practitioners but had wider appeal as known from the niches of numerous votive stūpas. The votive stūpas contain in their niches many deities introduced during Vajrayāna phase and reveal the cult preference of the pilgrims. None of these depict any *yuganadha* (embracing) pose. In fact some important Vajrayāna texts, like the *Hevajra Tantra,* betray an attempt to routinise many esoteric Tāntric practices (see Ch. 5).

Moreover, it is to be noted that many of the Buddhist deities who trample on brahmanical *divinities* are largely absent in Orissa and India. This seems to be a conscious decision by the Buddhists. On the other hand, Buddhism developed an elaborate pantheon structure and rituals for the laity. Such a structure requires the need of a specialist because these divinities who were invested with powers to solve specific problems required a particular mode of worship as well as a set of rituals.[15] For the average populace, who constituted the base of a widely spread religion, the saliency of existential wants predominated over other objectives. The Buddhist deities seem to cater to these needs. A poor man prays to *Vasudhārā* to give him plenty. An infertile lady worships Hariti for conception. Vajrayāna Buddhism developed a vast structure of pantheon, from Buddhas to *ḍākini,* who fulfil these existential needs of people. The *Sādhanamālā* and other texts refer to instrumental functions of each deity. The following table represents them.

Table No.2.3 : Instrumental Functions of Buddhist Divinities

Category	*Buddhist deities*	*Instrumental Function*
Buddhas	1 Dipāṅkara	1. Islanders' deity favouring merchants
	2. Bhaiṣajyaguru	2. Healer Buddha; worshipped for curing illness
	1. Vajrapāṇi	3. God of Rain (ii) provide elixir of life (iii) to cure snake Bite

	2. Avalokiteśvara	4. Saviours. As savours he saves from eight or eleven fears Worshipped by woman
	3. Avalokiteśvara in feminine form	
	4. Mañjūśrī	(i) For learning (ii) destroys ignorance (iii) god of or Agriculture
	5. Sańkhanaṅga Mañjūśrī	5. for bewitching woman
Bodhisattvas	6. Arogyasali Lokeśvara	6. God of healing
	7. Vajrapāṇi	7. god of rain, protector of snakes and elixer of life
	8. Simhanāda Lokeśvara	8. Invoked to cure leprosy
	9. Ksitigarbha	9. Master of six world of Desire (ii) God of Death
	10. Akāsagarbha	10. God of Wealth,
	11. Cintāmani Lokeśvara	11. God of Wealth
Other deities	1. Hārītī	1. (i) goddess of fecundity, prevents small pox, protects kitchen
	2. Aparājita [16]	2. Goddess of ghosts
	3. Jambhala	3. God of wealth
	4. Trailokyavijaya	4. Conqueror of evil spirit
	5. AṣṭamahābhayaTārā	5. Saviouress
	6. Hayagrīva	6. God of horse traders
	7. Jaṇgulī	7. Cure snake-bite
	8. Kurukulla	8. For bewitching lovers
	9. Vajra-Sarasvatī	9. Goddess of wealth, learning
	10. Vasudhārā	10. Goddess of abundance
	11. Parṇaśabarī	11. Small pox
	12. Mahāmayuri	12. Invoked in snake bite
	13. Mahākāla	13. God of wealth and hearth
	14. Yamāntaka	14. Invoked to conquer death
	15. Prajñāpāramitā	15. Goddess of transcendental wisdom
	16. Uṣnīṣavijayā	16. Goddess of Intelligence

.13 Priesthood and Rituals

Two other aspects of Vajrayāna also contributed to the extension of Buddhism. Of course, the Vajrayāna texts were highly metaphysical in their meaning but many of the idioms and expressions provide an indication of the way it tried to reach out to different groups. In many texts and *caryapādas* there are reference to lower-caste women like *doma, hadi* etc. The Tāntric *yogins* themselves have occasionally gone out of their way to emphasise the low social status of their preferred partners, specifying on occasions that the ideal consort was a sixteen year female partner of the despised *doma* caste (Shaw 1994). The societal implication of such a position is difficult to ascertain because it is important to know how far the gender polarities that existed in Buddhist Tantric circles had anything to do with the conventional gender role. However, it is certain that the inferior position accorded to women within the monastic establishment was some what retrieved in Vajrayāna by according an important position to feminine principle. Further women were accorded religious authority on the basis of religious realisation and the timely display of their magical power.[17]

More important aspect is the implication of female principle and the need of a *guru* for initiation to Vajrayāna. Initiation into Vajrayāna, both for laity and monk, required ritual. A guru who is an accomplished one can do this. An accomplished one in Vajrayāna traditions requires various practices including the need of a female partnership. Through this logic Vajrayāna established a married priest system who could act as guru, initiate the new to its fold. Dumont summarises this process thus:

> An individualistic soteriolgy is in fact used to define another hereditary group. Tantricism combined mysticism and ritual to great effect. It gave value to the individual. Yet at the same time, the emphasis on secrecy, the necessity of a *guru* and the importance of sexual partner and therefore, marriage, Tantricism also provided a Sanskritic idiom for the religion of the group (Dumont 1980: 187–191).

2.13.1 *Rituals*

Vajrayāna rituals are not Tāntric in their entirety. The Vajrayāna form treats not only the tāntric rites but also the Mahāyāna rituals like the erection of stūpa, setting up of images, *stotras*, and daily rituals. The *Kriyā tantra* deals with ceremonies at the building of images, erection of images of Buddhist divinities. The Cārya-tantras deal with the cults of daily practice. In the category of *Kriyā tantra*, the *Ādikarmapradīpa* was the most important (Poussin 1898: 177-232). The *Kriyā saṁgraha pañjika*, which is catalogued in the brāhmanical manual of rituals category in the Asiatic Society of Bengal Manuscript section is actually a Buddhist text (Shastri 1927: 119 ff.). It describes the ceremonies and religious rituals, which the *Ādikarma* Bodhisattvas i.e. the adherents of Mahāyāna had to perform. The work consists of a *sūtra* text with a running commentary and contains precepts on the initiation ceremony for disciple (which can be a layman or monk). They include sprinkling of water, washing and prayers, rules for rinsing mouth, morning and evening devotion, offering of water to departed, alms giving, worshipping of Buddha at various times of the day. The Jayarampur plate of Śrī Gopacandra (5th century AD) records that the grant of villages was made in order to make provisions for *bali* (offering to all creatures), *cāru* (offerings to the ancestors), *gandha* (sandal paste), *puṣpa* (flowers), for *havis* (oblations), *piṇḍa pātra* (the pots for offering oblations) (Rajaguru 1962: 206-29).

The *Aṣṭamībrata-vidhāna* contains the rules for the ceremonies to be held on every eighth day of the first half of the month, dedicated to Mañjūśrī (Mitra 1981). Śrī Harṣa in the *Naiṣadhacarita* speaks of the custom of making a circle of camphor mixed with musk in the shrine of the goddess.[18] I-tsing refers to many customs which were practiced by the people in 7th century AD. These customs vary from bathing of deities to offerings to various deities.[19]

2.14 Vajrayāna as Religion of Magical Protection

The ontological explanation on the identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṁsāra* is the

philosophical basis of magic of Vajrayāna. The Absolute is the only reality and pervades the entire universe. Each thought, action and word is in its true essence an activity of the Absolute. As its manifestation, this phenomenal world contains all the mysteries of reality and its hidden forces can be used for salvation. As a reflex of the Absolute, the universe everywhere reflect, manifest and reveal this Absolute Unity. If all things are fundamentally one pure spirit, all cosmic phenomena is linked to each other in a thread; each word, action and thought is somehow connected with the Eternal Ground of the world. Magic is this unity. If the thought is the only reality, the thought condensed to mantras have powers over material thing. The *śūnya*, in turn, form of a god or goddess in whose power the magician can share by identification.

Even before this philosophical justification of magic, Buddhism had developed a number of rituals which are now considered to be a Vajrayānist – recitation of spells, worship of images, performances of rites, etc. Theravāda Buddhism, in response to psycho-physical needs, had developed a number of non-soteriological goals within the domain of legitimate Buddhist concerns.

The Buddhists used magical formulas as shields to protect themselves from physical dangers from the very beginning. Buddha himself believed in supernatural powers and was ascribed to have classified four kinds of *iddhipadas* (supernatural power) –will, effort, thought, investigation. The early Mahāyānists used the *sūtras* as protective spells and called them *dharāṇis*.[20] Fa-hien recited the *Suraṅgama sūtra* as a *dhāraṇi* in his journey, while crossing the Gobi desert, Xuanzang recited the *hṛdaya sūtra* (*sūtra* of the Heart of Perfect Wisdom) by calling for the aid of Hwan-yin (a form of Avalokiteśvara), who had taught this *sūtra* (Nakamura 1987: 314-318). The use of *dhāraṇis* (*dhārayati anaya iti*– by which something is sustained) as protective spells was very popular in this period. Numerous *dharaṇis* in clay seals are found from Ratnagiri. Vasubandhu in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* categorised four kinds of *dharaṇis* – *dharma dhāraṇi, arthadhāraṇī, mantradhāraṇī* and the *Bodhisattva-kṣantilābha dhāraṇi* (Winternitz 1933: 380-87). From 5th century AD onwards, independent *sūtras* of Vajrayāna were composed and they were credited with powers, which can lead to salvation. In many stūpas of Orissa, one finds *dhāraṇis* being inserted inside a stūpa. An inscription, now in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar (OSM) states that the construction of a single *caitya* (*stūpa*) with a deposit of a *dhāraṇi* inside it confers on the donor the merit of one lakh of *Tathāgata caityas* (*EI* XXVI 1941: 171-174). The following table gives a list of some *dhāraṇis* and their functions.

Table 2.4 : Various *Dhāranis* and their Functions

	Dharaṇis	*Function*
1.	The *sūtra* on the *dhāraṇis* for protecting children	1. For the protection of children
2.	(i) *Mahāpratisāra dhāraṇis* *Mahā-pratyaṅgira- dhāraṇi* (i) *Vasundharā dhāraṇi*	2. Invoked for longevity
3.	*Mahā Pratyaṅgira-dhāraṇi*	3. Invoked to ward off evil and endow with all powers to do good to the devotees
4.	*Maṇiratna sūtra dhāraṇi*	4. Recited to dispel diseases and disaster

5.	*Pañcārakṣa* (five Protective spell) *dhāraṇi* (i) *Mahāpratisāra* (ii) *Mahāsahasra Pramardini* (iii) *Mahāmayūrī* (iv) *Mahā –sitavati* (v) *Mahārakṣa-māntranusāriṇī*	5. For protection against sin. Disease and other evils
6.	*Uṣṇisavijaya dhāraṇi*	6. Efficacious in curing diseases and prolonging life
7.	*Vajravidaraṇanāma-dhāraṇi*	7. To ensure robust health
8.	*Piśāci Parṇasavarināma-dhāraṇi*	8. to ward off disease.

R. L. Mitra in his book *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* cites many of the *bratas* and *avadānas*, which are popular among the Newari Buddhists. These *bratas* and *Avadānas* are important for they allude to the number of rituals and fasts practised by the lay Buddhists. In one of his writings on why Buddhism died out in India where as Jainism continued to exist in few pockets, Jaini concludes that one of the most crucial factors for the decline of Buddhism in India was the relative absence of specially Buddhist observances for the laity (Jaini 1980:). The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* ridiculed Jaina laity for becoming a monk for a day (*Aṅguttara Nikāya* I: 206). Fasting on holy days of *Eight Precepts* (*Astamībrata*) was one of the ancient *bratas* for the laity (Gellner 1996: 220). Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara is worshipped during *Aṣṭamīvrata.* Many Sanskrit manuscripts, copied in the *Nepal Saṁvat*, describe these *bratas* and *avadānas.* But most of them belongs to 18th century AD. Some of these rituals are associated with the worship of stūpas. The *Upasadha Avadana* deals with *upasatha* ceremony during *Aṣṭami vrata*, which was celebrated on the eighth of waning moon. A hut was erected with five kinds of sacred wood in which Lokeśvara was worshipped. The performer observes the purification of the eight members of the body before and after it for week (Mitra 1981: 265). The *Suchandravadāna* (NS 245) was dedicated to *Vasudhārā*, the Buddhist counterpart of Lakṣmī. The rite should be undertaken on the 3rd of the waning moon in the month of *bhādra.* The rite consists of bathing in a river, putting on clean clothes filling a pitcher with pure water over which the *mantra* of *Vasudhārā* has been repeated. Placing the pitcher on *kuśa* grass spread on a pure spot, and the washing in the pot goddess *Vasudhārā.* The *Caitya puṅgava* (*Nepal Saṁvat* 905, *i.e.* 1894) is a rite of the adoration of *caityas* and rituals and merits there of. The *caitya* is to be made of pure clay mixed with the five products of the cow, the *five nectars* (*sic*), the five jewels and five aromatics. The mixture is then to be kneaded seven times while repeating *Samantabhadra mantra* (Mitra 1981: 281-282). I-tsing refers to popularity of *caityas* thus; "the priest and laymen in India make caityas or images with earth or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper. Sometimes they build stūpas of the Buddhas by making a pile and surrounding it with bricks." The *Kaṭhināvadāna* describes the merit of chastity, abstinence, etc. during the period of *kaṭhina.* This period extends to thirty days from the first of the new moon in the month of *Aśvina.* Gift to monks and recitals of the stories in praise of charity are the principal observances (*ibid.* 265). The *Tārāshottara sata-nāṃa stotra* is a collection of 108 epithets strung together in the form of a hymn in praise of a goddess Ekajaṭā *Ārya Tārā.* The

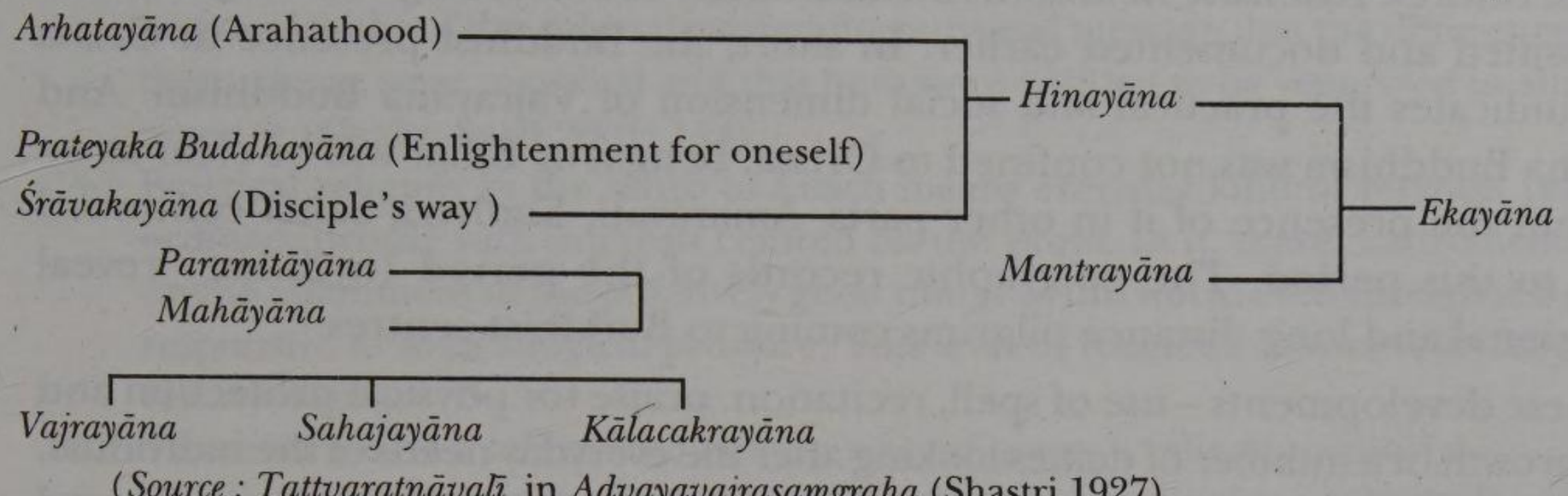
hymn is alleged to have been given by Avalokiteśvara to Vajrapāni and is intended to be worn as amulet to avert evils proceeding from thieves, war, fire, lions, waters, elephants, tigers (*ibid.* 259-260).

There are other protective *mantras* in Buddhism as well. The classic *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi '*Om Maṇipadma Huṁ*' is one of the most important *mantras* of Avalokiteśvara and is widely popular in Tibet. The surest protection from physical danger is the love and graciousness of Tārā. In sculpture as in the Aṣṭamahabhaya Tārā image of Ratnagiri, Tārā is depicted as guarding her devotees from the eight great perils. Similarly Avalokiteśvara emerges as eight different deities to free from eight fears as acolytes of *Aṣṭabhaya-trāna-Ekādasamukha* Avaloki-teśvara (Lokesh Chandra: 1987: 632-638). The short *mantra* of Tārā *'Om Tāre Tuttare Ture svāhā'*, when recited properly, is believed to confer many boons and is highly efficacious. The power of these *mantras* is derived from their "consecration by the Buddha, which exerts upon them a deep and inconceivable influence" (*Mahāvairocana Sūtra*: Ch IV). Other *stotras* are elaborated in Chapter 4.

2.15 The Three *Yānas*: A Total System

However, these experimentations to broaden the social base of Buddhism operated within Buddhist schema, and Buddhists viewed different *Yānas* as part of a single system. The Buddhists themselves maintained a conceptual separation between soteriolgy and this-worldly religion. Theravāda Buddhism or *Mahāyānism* theoretically presupposes that all can attain salvation but they do not envisage — in spite of the changes in emphasis in *Mahāyānism* — that all could do so in one's own life. For example, Snellgrove (Snellgrove, 1987:90) quotes a Mahāyāna text which prescribes generosity (*i.e.* almsgiving) for the lowly, the practice of morality for the middling and tranquillity for the advanced. Thus, spiritual hierarchy was built into Buddhism and was so even in the time of Buddha himself (Gombrich 1988: 73-74). The three *Yānas* of Buddhism was not merely a chronological development in the evolution of Buddhism as a religion. They also provided different mārgas (paths) and built up/ different cognitive structures and an affective belief patterns to cater to the needs of different sections of the society. The three *Yānas* are like three *mārgas* of salvation. They attempt to incorporate different philosophical traditions and practices within a Buddhist system, thereby, enriching the religion and enlarging the boundary. The three *Yānas* can be conceptualised as a totality, important according to the relative affiliation of the seeker. The three vehicles document not merely different practices and philosophical traditions, they also account for an evolving Buddhism through centuries of changes and adaptation. At the epistemological level, the three *Yānas* were seen as constituting a whole. The Buddhist, while conscious of the differences, also thought of the unity of three *Yānas*. The *Tattvaratnāvalī* represents the interrelationship between different vehicles as part of one single Buddhist system thus:

Table 2.5: Ekayāna Conception in the Advayavajrasaṁgraha



(*Source : Tattvaratnāvalī* in *Advayavajrasamgraha* (Shastri 1927).

Vajrayāna Buddhists were considered to be a spiritual advancement upon the earlier two. Thus a sort of hierarchy was attempted. The *Hevajra Tantra* refers to this hierarchy thus: "First the Eight Precepts should be given, then Ten. Then he should teach the *Vaibhasya*, then the *Sautāntrika*. After that he should teach the *Yogācāra*, then the *Mādhyamika*. After he knows all the levels of the Way of the *Mantras*, then he should begin on *Hevajra*. The pupil who lays hold with zeal will succeed, there is no doubt." (Snellgrove 1959 a II: 90). Same sort of interrelationship between various *yānas* existed at the iconographic level. One problem encountered in identifying Vairocana of Udayagiri *Mahāstūpa* is his close resemblance with Dharmasaṅkha-samādhi Mañjūśrī, with which he is identified in various texts. (See Chapter 3). In Tantric Buddhism some sort of unification had taken place between the celestial Buddhas and bodhisattvas, as in case of Vairocana and Mañjūśrī (Van kooji 1977: 77). As noted in Chapter 1, (Page 4) when I-tsing visited India, he did not find much difference between Theravāda and Mahāyāna form of Buddhism.

Some of the religious practices of Vajrayāna were significantly different from the earlier one, but it operated within the Buddhism schema, employing distinct Buddhist terminology. The Vajrayāna texts tried to build an elaborate epistemological system to explain, accommodate and adapt certain baseline beliefs and practices. As ethnographic works on Newar or Tibetan Buddhism show, the three *Yānas* still fail to encapsulate the entire spectrum of Buddhist practices and beliefs. The cult of amulets, terracotta plaques, inscribed *dhāraṇis* with their mystical powers along with the development of numerous gods and goddesses, elaborate rituals, etc. were some of the steps taken by Vajrayāna Buddhism to make the religion more instrumental. The characterisation of Vajrayāna Buddhism as corrupt stems from its literature and esoteric practices but as an exoteric religion, Vajrayāna was extremely popular and widespread in Orissa between 7th to 12th centuries AD. Numerous Buddhist sites came up during the period. Their spatial distribution and archaeological remains clearly indicate the popularity of this religion. So, also the proliferation of Buddhist deities, who are ultimately linked to Ādi Buddha, the Ultimate, identified with the 'void' of the *Mādhyamikakārikā*. The votive stūpas found in plenty at Ratnagiri and other

mahāvihāras of Orissa reveal cross-regional pilgrim flow and popularity of different Buddhist centres. Extensive fieldwork reveals a variety of Buddhist gods and goddesses not classified and documented earlier. In short, the Buddhist presence in Orissa clearly indicates the practical and social dimension of Vajrayāna Buddhism. And Vajrayāna Buddhism was not confined to Orissa, Bengal or Bihar will be clear as we document the presence of it in other parts. Amarāvatī, Kanheri, Sāñcī continued well in to this period. The epigraphic records of the period (in Bihar) reveal interregional and long distance pilgrims coming to Buddhist centres.

These developments – use of spell, recitation, praise for physical protection and boons, growth of a number of deities looking after the everyday needs of the individual, power of Buddhist sacra – all these had the potentiality of making it popular and extensive. This was so is known from the distribution of sites across coastal Orissa, from their size as well as their temporal continuity. The architecture of votive stūpas as found from Ratnagiri reveals that pilgrims from Krishna valley were thronging to Ratnagiri (Mitra 1981: 110). Similarly, the inscriptions, both on the bronzes and sculptures at Kukutipāda monastery record the pious donations of devotees who had come to these sacred sites from places like Śākala (Sialkot), Kāñcī, Pāṇḍya and the island of Bali (Banerjee-Sastri 1940: 236 – 251, 299–308). We will discuss these developments in the next chapter by studying from archaeological perspectives. The expansion of Buddhism in this period (7th century AD onwards) took place at a time when brāhmanical religions also spread in Orissa. However, historians focus only on the brāhmanical religions and explain the religious developments from mono-religious perspective, where as historical evidence points out a poly-religious landscape in Orissa between 7th-12th centuries AD. The next chapter documents, not only the spread of Buddhism as a social religion (discussed in this chapter) but also makes an attempt to document the growth in brāhmanical and other religions in Orissa between 5th to 12th centuries AD.

REFERENCES

1. According to R.S. Sharma, Tantricism was the ultimate product of the brāhmanical colonisation of the tribal areas through the process of land grants. Land grants gave rise to not only serfdom in the outer circle but also to bhakti and tantricism, all of which penetrated to Madhyadeśa. The confrontation between the *brāhmaṇa* beneficiaries and the tribal people created social and economic problems, which were partly solved through tantricism (Sharma 1974: 189; Sharma 1962: 53-59).
2. The lack of distinct identity of Vajrayāna Buddhism or its imitative nature has been argued as an important factor for the decline of Buddhism. A recently published book on the religious processes in Bengal argues on the same line. It holds the view that Buddhism in the manifest aspects of religions has little difference with the brāhmanical religion (Chakrabarti 2001:142).
3. Kunal Chakrabarti holds the view that the "in popular understanding Buddhist and brāhmanical icons came to perform the same function. Even in the realm of underlying

metaphysical premises tantricism brought the Buddhist and brāhmanical ways of worship close. When both the religions began to receive royal patronage irrespective of the personal faiths of the rulers it carried the universal message that the differences between them, if any, were marginal and that both were entitled to be venerated in almost equal manner (Chakrabarti 2001: 142).

4. Practical religion in the sense of Leach means everyday kind of religion practiced by ordinary people with interests centred on the world. In it, there is a tremendous stress on the attainment of the putatively good things of this world even though it is eminently responsive to soteriological pressure. This level of religious culture is socially operative (Leach 1968).
5. Three shrines are relic of the body, a relic of use or a relic of memorial.
6. I-tsing: "The origin of the image called *Gambunadavarṇa* (golden coloured) is mentioned in the *Vinaya.* When Buddha was not among the assembly, the members of the order were not reverential; this circumstance caused the rich Anāthapiṇḍaka to ask the Buddha, saying 'I wish to make a golden coloured image of thee to put it in front of the Assembly'. The Great Master allowed him to make this image." (Takakusu 1966: 190).
7. Gregory Schopen argues that the image worship began quite early (Schopen 1987: 193–225; 1989b: 153 –168).
8. There are three approaches to pilgrimage. The Durkhemian approach regards pilgrimages as means of producing a wider sense of social consciousness within the dispersed local communities, thus reinforcing the concern of the societies. Turner's theory asserts that many pilgrimages involve the rejection of social structure. Social relationships between pilgrims are perceived ideally unmediated by mundane social status and hierarchy (Turner and Turner 1978). On the other hand, Eade and Sallnow consider that pilgrimage, as a social scientific category should be deconstructed. Sites do not provide arenas of Durkhemian consensus or Turnerian Communities but rather the expression of divergent meaning which divide the Great and Little Traditions, lay pilgrims and orthodox authorities, local inhabitants and temporary visitors. In this perspective, the key aspect of major shrines is their ability to absorb varieties of interpretation. The power of shrine, therefore, derives in large part from its character almost as a religious void, a ritual space capable of accommodating diverse meaning and practices, though the shrine staff might attempt with varying degrees of success, to impose a single, official discourse (Eade and Sallnow 1991:15).
9. Sign has been classified as iconic, indexical and symbolic. The iconic sign most clearly evokes the non-existent object to which it refers. Portrait is an example of iconic sign. Indexical signs are the markers or traces of a particular cause, and that cause is the thing to which they refer. Indexical icons similarly encode dual meanings: On the one hand the icons represent the likeness of an original object or p̄erson, and on the other it transfers values to its users. Symbols, on the other hand, denote the interpretations of a thing. Triratna symbol, for example, denotes the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha* (Burke IX: 673–89; Tambiah 1979).
10. "The priests and the laymen in India make *caityas* or images with earth or impress the Buddha's images on silk or paper and worship it with offering wherever they go. Sometimes they build *stūpas* of the Buddha by making a pile or surrounding it with bricks. They some time form these *stūpas* in lonely fields and leave them to fall in ruins. On the *upavasata* day in India the host comes previously to the priest and after a salutation, invites them to the festival. Priests sit according to their rank. At the upper end of the

row of seats are the images of Arhats, to whom offer being made first. At the lowest end of the row an offering of food is made to the mother Hariti, (Takakusu 1966: 150).

11. Parson remarked that when an observer in possession of the best available scientific knowledge, examines the nexus between the means used and the ends they are supposed to encompass, such an observer can discern "no reason why the operation in question should serve to bring about the realisation of subjective ends aimed by the ritual actor (Parson 1937: 204).
12. Beyer's documentation of rituals associated with the worship of Tārā is one of the excellent studies on the symbolic aspect of Vajrayāna rituals (Beyer 1973).
13. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, goddess cult became widespread in Orissa from 7th century AD, but more particularly from 9th century AD onwards. For the popularity of Śaktism in this period (Sircar 1967; Donaldson 2002).
14. Instrumental actions are those behaviours, which are oriented "to changing the state of the world as a means to the end of one's subjective experience (Southwold, 1983: 185). If a prayer, a spell, in its correct formulation tends to achieve the purpose for which it was recited, will be characterised as instrumental. To take an instance, if a childless woman goes to Hariti and worship her in the correct manner, perform the enjoined rituals, we will conclude that the prayer is an instrumental means to achieve the desired end *i.e.* to get a child. The desired goal (getting a child) leads to change in one's subjective experience. Prayer or performance of rituals in this situation will be considered as an instrumental means while the deity performs an instrumental role.
15. See Beyer for the mode of worship and rituals involved in Tārā cult (Beyer 1973).
16. Aparājitā was said to have delivered the Lord the *hṛdaya mantra* of all ghosts. It is invoked during the journey to save from fear of ghosts. Xuanzang crossed the Gobi desert reciting this *mantra.*
17. Some Buddhist texts abhor certain social practices. Using the *Mahānirvāṇatantra* (X, 79-80), "they pointed out that woman was the embodiment of the Supreme Goddess, and boldly declared that if a person burnt her with her husband, she would be condemned to eternal hell." The Buddhist Tantras also stress the sacred nature of all women, and the fourteenth of the fourteen fundamental transgressions (*mūlapatti*) of the *Anuttarayoga-Tantra* code is "to disparage women, who are the source of insights (*prajñasvabhāva*)" (Wayman 1959: 36).
18. *"Tarvihara-bhubi candramayiṁ cakra; yanmaṇḍaliṁ himabhubaṁ mṛganabhibasaṃ; Tanaiba tanvi sukrutena mate jinasya* (*Naiṣadhacarita* Chapter, 22: 136).
19. When the laity invites a monk to a festival at his home "priest sit according to their ranks—At the upper end of the row of seats, are the images of Arhats to whom offer is made first. At the lowest end of the row an offering of food is made to the holy mother, Hariti (p.37). "There is likewise in great monasteries in India, at the side of a pillar to the kitchen or before the porch a figure of a deity carved in wood, chair, with one foot hanging down towards the ground. Being always wiped with oil, its countenance is blackened, and the deity is called Mahākāla. At mealtimes those who serve in the kitchen offer light and incense and arrange all kinds of prepared food before the deity. (p.38) In Ch. XXXI (p. 147) I-tsing records the Rules of decorum in cleansing the sacred object of worship (Takakusu 1966).
20. Some formulas expressing the four noble truths in Dravidian languages were used as a sort of *dharaṇis* by the Sarvastivādins owing to the belief in *satkriyā*, which was supposed to be effective (Bernard 1967: 162-63).

Chapter - 3

RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE OF ORISSA

(From 5th to 12th Centuries AD : With Reference to Buddhism)

3.1 Introduction

The Introduction briefly delineated the religious landscape of Orissa between 7th to 12th centuries AD. From the religious standpoint alone the period was a momentous one as the religious landscape of Orissa saw simultaneous expansion of Buddhism, Śaivism, Śaktism, Vaiṣṇavism and other cults. This expansion was only one facet of the complex religious process. The other strand was the existence of many autochthonous cults like that of Maṇināgeśvarī, Stambheśvari and others. The emergence of temples from the Sailodbhava period (from 7th century AD and their proliferation subsequently) was yet another important development of the period. Juxtaposed with this expansion of brāhmanical religions was the evidence of the spread and development of Buddhism.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Buddhism of this period witnessed both spatial and vertical expansions. It is argued that rather than being degenerative, Buddhism of this period was more a social and instrumental religion. It tried to integrate various schools of Buddhism by developing *ekayāna;* it provided a normative basis to numerous deities; it introduced rituals for the worship of deities, it innovated *maṇḍala* and other forms of complex rituals; it developed texts like *kriyā tantra* for the daily worship of these deities; it discouraged extremities of Vajrayāna by making a distinction between exoteric and esoteric Buddhism. It developed ritual specialists to conduct worship and perform complex rituals.

This chapter deals in detail with the vertical and horizontal spread of Buddhism during this period in Orissa. At the spatial level, copious documentation of sites and sculptures has been attempted. Appendix 1 at the end of the Chapter gives a description of the finds from each Buddhist site. At the vertical level, an attempt has been made to document different forms of gods and goddesses of Buddhism so as to highlight their worship by people at large. The fact that many of these gods and goddesses of Buddhism are found in the niches of votive *stūpas* offered by the pilgrims attests to their worship by people at large.[1] Secondly varieties of *maṇḍalas*, which

came up during this period, are also dealt with. However, the growth of Buddhism in this period is only one component. The other vital aspect is the spread and expansion of brāhmanical religions and other cults. The period witnessed the growth of many temples, which preserve in their complexes numerous gods and goddess of the brāhmanical pantheon. Further many of the autochthonous goddesses, which were integrated to the brahmanical religions or still remained autonomous, like Stambheśvari, emerged in this period. To understand the changing religious landscape of Orissa from 7th century to 12th centuries AD is the second objective of the period.

An attempt has been made to document various shrines and sculptures of the period and understand the changing religious contour of Orissa during 7th to 12th centuries AD. Fieldwork of many parts of Orissa was undertaken between 1999-2002. This includes survey of Mayurbhanj district. I have relied on various books of Thomas Donaldson for the dating of the temples and sculptures. The chapter also attempts a longitudinal study of selective sites to analyse issues related to sacred spaces– issues like public access to main *stūpa*. Further, an attempt has been made to catalogue the deities in votive *stūpas* of Ratnagiri so as to highlight the popularity of different cults in Ratnagiri.

3.2 Rationale of Documentation

The followings are the broad reasons for such documentation.

Scholars like R. S. Sharma opine that Tāntric Buddhism was a product of feudal economy and was used to integrate tribal areas. On the other hand, documentation of sites shows that Buddhism of this period was largely confined to coastal Orissa.

The second rationale of the documentation is to show that Buddhism did not decline in this period but expanded in this period along with brahmanical religions

If both Buddhism and brāhmanical religions were expanding simultaneously then the existing historiography which deals with inter-religious relations in binary category of decline of Buddhism and ascendancy and hegemony of brāhmanical religions can no more be sustained. What comes out of the study is a poly-religious landscape of Orissa in this period. Mapping cults will help us understand better the religions of the period.

To show the poly-religious landscape of this period is one component; the other important aspect of such a study is to highlight the shift and pattern of change of various cults in Orissa. This will help us finding the underlying causes of the shift (Not dealt in the present study).

As argued in Chapter 2, Buddhism tried to make religion instrumental and social by innovating many deities by creating a systematic pantheon structure. In this Chapter a copious documentation of sites has been made. As an extension of the instrumental role of various deities, we have made an exhaustive documentation of these deities, which are found from Orissa.

In our view *maṇḍala* form of Buddhism not only introduced various deities but also brought in complex rituals to the household. We tried to document various Buddhist *maṇḍalas* found in Orissa.

Buddhism introduced numerous instrumental deities from 6th-7th century AD onwards. These instrumental deities have been documented in Chapter 2. These deities are found in many places. Careful documentation of the deities and their forms like Avalokiteśvara, Tārā and Mañjūśrī has been attempted to show cult popularity of these deities. Cult preference of pilgrims in Ratnagiri is studied by examining the deities in the niches of *votive stūpas.*

3.3 Religious Landscape between 5th–7th centuries AD

The following table gives a list of sites and sculptures between 5th to 7th centuries AD. We could not take temples as the basis of dating a site because many earlier temples had collapsed without a trace. Many of the sculptures of the earlier temples had found their place in later temples. Sites like Bhubaneswar where there are many extant temples to indicate their date on the basis of their architectural style and epigraphic records, there are many other sites where earlier temples had completely collapsed. In many sites of the Prācī valley, Buddhist images are found without any trace of structure. The same can be said of many brāhmanical sculptures, which are affixed to later-day temples. I will prefer to use sculpture as a more valid indicator of the antiquity and religious affiliation of the site, where there is no extant structures of that particular period. There is one limitation of the exercise; many sculptures have changed their locations and covered a great spatial distance. But, I believe that many images, found in later-day temples, are taken from their immediate environments, and indicate their cult preference.

3.3.1 Explanatory Notes

- In the tables, where there is no description of the sculptures, it means that the dating is on the basis of existing temple style. This is particularly true in the case of Śaiva temple. Moreover, the date of important religious structures of the period of the study is indicated in parentheses in column 5.
- Finds from different Buddhist sites have been shown in Appendix 1.
- Date refers to the date of the images and not of structures.

Table 3.1: Sculptures from 5th-7th century AD[2]

Sites	*Location*	*District*	*Date in Century*	*Religious structure and its date*	*Important sculptures of the period*
Āsanapata	Āsanapata	Keonjhar	05th	————	Inscription with Śiva Naṭarāja image on a rock
Asurgarh	Narla	Kalahandi	05th-06th	Śaiva (6th century AD)	
Gohirasahi	Soro	Balasore	06-7th	Śaiva	Śaiva liṅgaṃ inscribed with Buddhist *dharaṇi*Dehli
Asurgarh	Narla, Near	Kalahandi	06th	Religious affiliation not known	
Kesaribeda	Rayagada	Koraput	06th	Vaiṣṇava	Ādimūrti
Maraguda valley	Maraguda	Kalahandi	06th	Śaiva (on the basis of temple style)	

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Shatrughneśwar	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	06th 6th century)	Śaiva (temple belongs to	Hari-Hara
Trilocaneśvara	Jajpur town	Jajpur	06th-07th	Śaiva (13th century temple)	Ādimūrti
Siddheśvara	Jajpur town	Jajpur	06th-07th	Śaiva (13th century)[3]	Ādimūrti
Uttareśvara temple	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	07-08th	Śaiva temple of the same period	Puruṣottama
Parśurāmeśvar temple	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	07th	Śaiva (Śaiva temple of the same period)	Hari-Hara (2), Śrīdhara, Varāha Vaiṣṇavi, Gaja-Lakṣmī and other Śaiva sculptures
Valunkeśvara temple	Rayagada	Koraput	07th	Śaiva (8th century AD)	
Nilakanthesvara temple[4]	Padmapur, Gunupur block	Koraput	07th	Śaiva (6th-7th century AD)	Śaiva sculptures in its *raha* niches
Gandharala	Khariar	Kalahandi	07th	Not known	
Jagannātha	Madhupurgarh	Puri	07th	Vaiṣṇava (14th century)	Viṣṇu
Kanakeśvara temple	Kualo: Parjanga	Dhenkanal	07th	Śaiva (8th century AD)	Kārtikeya and other Śaivite sculptures
Lakṣmi-Nṛsiṁha	Nuapatna	Puri	07th	Vaiṣṇava (13th century)	Viṣṇu
Madhukeśvara	Mukhaliṅgaṃ	Srikakulam	07th	Vaiṣṇava (7th century)	Vaiṣṇavi
OSM	Banpur, Bankada	Puri	07th	Śaiva (7th century AD)	Śrīdhara
Rameśvara/ Siṁhanātha	Baramba area, on the rocky island of Mahānadī	Cuttack	07th	Śaiva (8th century)	Śaiva
Suruda	Bolangir town	Bolangir	07th	Śaiva (later period)	Śaivite Sculptures
Swarnajaleswar	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	07th	Śaiva (7th century)	Vaiṣṇavī, other Śaivite sculptures
Vaitala deula	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	07th	*Śākta* (8th century)	Vaiṣṇavī
Varaha-Nṛsiṁha	Simachalam	Srikakulam	07th	Vaiṣṇava (later period)	Lakṣmī
Lalitgiri	Mahāṅga block	Cuttack	5th-6th	Buddhist (continued from 2nd century BC)	Vairocana, Buddha images
Ratnagiri	Bari block	Jajpur	05th	Vajra Mahākāla temple belongs to 15th century. The deity is worshipped as Vajra Mahākāla, who is	Inscription with *Gāthā* of Causation, Buddha images a Buddhist deity.
Dhauli	Bhubaneswar	Khurda		Buddhist	
Udayagiri	Bari block	Jajpur		Buddhist	Buddhist
Khandagiri-Udayagiri	Bhubaneswar	Khurda		Jaina	
Langudi	Dharmasala	Jajpur		Buddhist	Monastery, Buddhist sculptures
Aragarh	Near Jatni on the bank of Khurda	Jajpur	07th	Buddhist	Two-storied temple, rare Buddhist sculptures of 9th century AD.
Kuruma	Near Konark	Puri	07th	Buddhist	

3.3.2. Discussion

Two important features marked the religious landscape of Orissa between the fifth and seventh centuries AD. First, the period marked the beginning of the construction of temples, both in the Buddhist monastic complex and the emergence of Kaliṅga-style Brahmanical temples and the second, the take-off phase of various religions. While the period saw the beginning of the construction of Ratnagiri monastery, Buddhism continued to exist in many early historical Buddhist sites like Lalitgiri and Langudi.[5] There are many new centres, which came up in this period. One such centre was Aragarh, which yielded some of the rare Buddhist sculptures of post- 8th century AD. However, the flat-two storied temple of Aragarh could be

architecturally dated to 6th century AD.[6] Some of the Buddhist sculptures of Kuruma can be dated to 7th century AD.[7] The period also saw the expansion of Buddhist sites of Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri. While the beginning of Ratnagiri could be dated to 5th century AD on palaeographic ground, it was only after 5th century AD that Ratnagiri began to flourish. The *Mahāstūpa* of Ratnagiri began to be constructed around 6th-7th century AD. On the other hand Monastery II and IV of Lalitgiri came up in the same period (IAR 1988-89: 65-68; 1989-90: 89-90; 90-91: 54-55; 1991-92:84-86). Buddha's descent from the heaven; the image of Mahāvairocana with his mantras on the backslab can also be to dated to 5th- 6th century AD. There are many other Buddhist sites but the precise dating is difficult as no stratigraphies of those sites exist, nor are they subject to systematic spadework. However, the frieze of the gateway of a *stūpa*, as found from Badagarh and preserved in the Orissa State Museum (OSM) indicates that a *stūpa* complex existed at Bhubaneswar. This excludes the possible Aśokan *stūpa*, which might be atop the Dhauli hill.[8] On the other hand many Buddhist rock-cut sites of Vishakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts declined.

In the sphere of brahmanical religions, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism began to spread to Orissa. The Āsanapata inscription of Śatrubhañja and the image of Śiva relief above the said inscription clearly indicate the presence of Śaivism in central Orissa around 5th century AD (Das 1965: 1- 8). The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī inscriptions refer to the presence of Śaivism in Senkapat and Sirpur. The Lodhia plate refers to the donation of land to Lord Īśāneśvara by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta. The donated village Vidyāpadraka is identified with the village Baidapalli in Baragarh region of the Samabalpur (Pandeya 1947-48:319-325) In northern Orissa there is hardly any evidence of early Śaivism. It could be as late as 6th-7th century AD. The evidence from Gohirasahi in Soro shows that Śaivism reached Northern and northeastern Orissa in 6th century AD (De 1953: 271-73).

Evidence from Khiching and other places shows that Śaivism is a late arrival here and began to penetrate substantially in post-8th century AD. On the other hand, Dhenkanal district preserves some early Śaiva monuments. The Kanakeśvara and Bhṛṅgeśvara temples belong to 8th century AD (Donaldson 1985 I: 19).

Meanwhile Śaivism was emerging as the most dominant cult in and around Bhubaneswar region. K.C. Panigrahi suggests 4th century AD as the tentative date of the conversion of Aśokan pillar into Bhāskareśvara *liṅgam*. The Shatrughneswar of Bhubaneswar can be dated to 6th century AD. Śaivism spread to Jajpur region slightly later.

On the other hand, Śaivism emerged in the South quite early. The Gaṅgās of Śvetaka were ardent Śaivites. Archaeological evidence also indicates the presence of Śaivism in 5th-6th century AD in Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam regions, which were the core regions of ancient Kaliṅga. While the Śiva Gokarṇeśvara of the Mahendra mountain emerged as an important deity under the Gaṅgās later in the 6th-7th centuries AD, Madhukeśvara, Nīleśvara, Kūrmanātha, Poṭṭīśvara, temples at Jayāti in Gajapatinagar *taluka* and Nṛsiṁha temples formed the nucleus of temples in Kaliṅga region in 8th century AD.[9] There are some Buddhist cave sites of Vishakhapatnam

and Srikakulam districts, which declined in this period.[10] But Buddhism continued in Kaliṅga in later period, which is known from many Marici images, which are stylistically dated to 9th-11th centuries AD from the Madhukeśvara Viṣṇu temple complex. As regard to Śaivism, the Poṭṭīśvara temple, located in the Someput talk of Srikakulam district and the temple at Jayati are early Śaiva temples. The Kaṇas Plate of Lokavigraha refers to a grant to a deity, Maṇināgeśvara.[11]

3.3.2 *Vaiṣṇavīsm*

The inscriptions of the Gaṅgās of Śvetaka refer to the donation of villages to Vaiṣṇava temples, which have been located in the Chicacole region of Srikakulam district. The Varāha-Nṛsiṁha temple of Simachalam in Srikakulam district preserves Viṣṇu image dated to late 6th century-early 7th century AD. In Kaṅgoda region, Baṅkada, which is identified with the capital of the Sailodbhavas has yielded an early fort, preserves early trace of Vaiṣṇavism. The Bānkaḍa image of Viṣṇu, which is now in the Orissa State Museum, is iconographically dated to 7th century AD. Nuapatna in the Prācī valley has also yielded a Viṣṇu image, which is now in Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha temple, which was constructed in 13th century AD. The school compound at Dolasahi in Tihidi block (near Kūmāreśvara temple Guamala) preserves an early Ādimūrti image, which can be dated to 7th century AD.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of Vaiṣṇava presence in Orissa are the two Nala grants, namely the Podagarh grant of Skandavarman (later part of 5th century) and Rajim plates, which refer to the construction of temples of Hari. Podagarh is located in Koraput district.[12] From Koraput district we also get some of the early sculptural specimen of Viṣṇu. The Kesaribeda Viṣṇu image is iconographically dated to early 6th century AD (Donaldson 2001 b: 15). Jajpur, famous as *Virajā Kṣetra,* also yields some of the early specimens of Viṣṇu. The Siddheśvara temple, on the outskirt of the Jajpur town and the Trilocaneśvara temple preserve some early images of Viṣṇu. Slightly later is the Viṣṇu image, found from the Rāmeśvara temple of Jajpur town. One early trend, which is seen in the Bhubaneswar Group of Śaiva temples, was the presence of Hari-Hara images from quite an early date. In fact, the Liṅgarāja, the presiding deity of Bhubaneswar is considered to be a Hari-Hara *Kṣetra.* The early group of temples of Bhubaneswar – the Swarnajaleswar and the Parsurameśwar preserves two early images of Hari-Hara. So, there was an attempt to superimpose Vaiṣṇavism in a classical Śaiva *Kṣetra* from the very beginning. The Parsurameśwar temple also preserves an image of Varāha-Viṣṇu. Madhupurgarh Viṣṇu image in Badacana block of Jajpur district (in undivided Cuttack district) is also dated to late 7th century AD.

It is to be noted that the Gaja-Lakṣmī as a decorative motif on the door lintel emerged quite early in all religions and sects. While such a motif is first found in the Parsurameswar temple in 7th century AD, it is also found in the door-lintel of the Monastery I of Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, both of which can stylistically be dated to 8th and 9th century respectively.

Śaktism spread little late here. Virajā in the Jajpur town was an old deity, who

has been referred to in the *Mahābhārata.* But the expansion of goddess cult in Orissa took place only in the next phase, *i.e.* between 7th to 9th centuries AD onwards.[13]

3.3.3 *Conclusion*

The above discussion indicates that Buddhism was concentrated in the Dayā valley, in Bhubaneswar, in the Chitrotpala valley but most notably in the Birupa–Kimiria valleys. Buddhist presence in other parts could be slightly later, most likely in 8th century, particularly in Mayūrbhañja and the Prācī valley. The sculptural evidence suggests a slightly later date for the sculptures of the Prācī valley and Mayūrbhañj district, but to reach such a conclusion requires more study. The same can be said of Jainism as well. I will prefer an early date for Buddhism in Brāhmani valleys in Jajpur district.

But the perusals of the sculptural and epigraphic evidence are suggestive of things to come.

Buddhism began to be concentrated in the Kimiria-Birupa and Brahmani valleys in Jajpur and Cuttack districts. However, there was also a substantial presence of Buddhism in the Daya valley as well. Bhubaneswar was beginning to emerge as a Śaiva *Kṣetra* as well but the sculptural evidence also suggests simultaneous presence of other brahmanical religions, Buddhism and Jainism.

However, there were two notable developments in Bhubaneswar: first, from the very beginning we have evidence of Vaiṣṇava presence in Śaiva temples in Bhubaneswar; there was an attempt to bring in Hari into Śaiva complex. This attempt at syncretism/ or incorporation of Vaiṣṇavīte element reached its climax in the Gaṅga period when the pilgrims were exhorted to visit Ananta-Vāsudeva first before they pay their obeisance to Liṅgarāja. In the Gaṅga period there was thus a deliberate attempt to superimpose Vaiṣṇava element in Śaiva place, as known from the tradition behind the change of the *āyudha* of the Liṅgarāja temple from earlier trident to half-disc-half trident by Anaṅgabhīma Chodagangadeva. This syncretism or superimposition started in Bhubaneswar from the very beginning, as known from Hari-Hara images from early group of Śaiva temples of Bhubaneswar.

On the other hand, Buddhism had presence in close proximity to Śaiva temples. There was mutual borrowing from each other. While Lakulīśa resembles more like the Buddha in *dharmacakrapravartana mudrā* as in the Parsurameśwar and in other early Śaiva temples, there was also attempt by Buddhism to develop parallelism as in case of Halāhala Lokeśvara (as in the Megheśvara temple sculpture, who looks more like Umā-Maheśvara.) The sculpture is, however, of slightly later date. In Prācī valley, which was to emerge as a major religious cluster in the next period, we have hardly any evidence, which point out to the presence of any religions between 5th-7th centuries AD.

3.4 7th-9th centuries AD

The period was marked by four new elements in the religious landscape of Orissa This period saw the expansion of all religions. Buddhism experimented with new

themes. Buddhism innovated new deities, introduced elaborate rituals for them, erected *stūpa maṇḍala,* etc. The period marked the emergence of major clusters around which religious shrines were located. Third, there were evidence of the growth of many autochthonous cults like Maṇīnāgeśvarī and Stambheśvarī. Fourth the period saw a marked increase in the growth of *Śākta* sites. A perusal of the sites would point out these developments.

Table 3. 2 : Shrines and Images between 7th-9th centuries AD

Sites	*Location*	*District*	*Date of the sculptures in century*	*Present Religious structure*	*Important sculptures of the period*
Ananteśvara temple[14]	Lendura Bhagavanpur (Badacana block)	Cuttack	08th to 11th century	Śaiva (08th century) of *pañcayātana* type	Śaiva sculptures, Śakti shrine
Baḍa Jagannātha	Baripada	Mayurbhanj	08th	Vaiṣṇava (17th temple)	Ādimūrti[15]
Belkhandi	Kesinga, Belkhandi	Kalahandi	08th-09th	Śaiva (8th century)	
Bhṛṅgeśvara temple[16]	Bajrakote, 32 Km from Talcher town	Dhenkanal	07th-8th century	Śaiva (Śaiva temple of 7th century)	Kārtikkeya, Hari-Hara, Four- armed Mahiṣamardinī
Brick temple Viṣṇu Trisula[17]	Maraguda valley of Mahala	Kalahandi	08th	*Śākta* (modern temple)	Mahiṣamardinī,
Dakṣiṇācaṇḍī Temple	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	*Śākta* 7th century)	Eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī
Dakṣiṇeśwar images	Bhanjanagar, temple	Bhanjanagar, Badagaon	08th-09th Ganjam	Śaiva (7th century)	Śaiva and *Śākta*
Dharapagarh	15 km south-east of Saiantala	Bolangir	08th-09th	Dastami sagar, housing numerous temples, two-armed Durgā (08th century)	Durgā
Dolasahi Baideśvara		Bhadrak	08-09th	——	Ādimūrti
Durgā temple,	Banki	Cuttack	08th	*Śākta* (08th century)	Vāmana
Grāmeśvara	Terundia, 4 miles on the Nimapara- Gop	Puri	08th-9th	Śaiva (08th)	
Haṁśesvara temple[18]	Jajpur town, Champa mundai	Jajpur	08th	Śaiva (now ruined but the inscription of Bhaumakara refers to Cāmuṇḍā image)	Cāmuṇḍā
Kalikadevi Cāmuṇḍā	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	*Śākta* (modern)	Eight-armed
Khajureśvara Durgā,	Sheragarh,	Balasore	08th	Śaiva-*Śākta* (the Khajuresvara	Mahiṣamardinī
Śiva temple	Nilagiri block			Śiva temple collapsed long ago; the present temple is a recent one but the temple complex preserves *hakhara* temple of 8th century	Vaiṣṇavī,
Kanakeśvara Śiva temple	Kualo, Parjaṅga	Dheṅkanal district	08th-09th	Śaiva (7th century)	
Kapileśvara	Ersama	Jagatsin-ghpur	08th	Śaiva (date could not be ascertained)	Puruṣottama, Śaiva sculptures
Kapoteśvara temple	Nathuabara district	Jajpur	08th-09th	Śiva- *Śākta* (built and rebuilt again and again by sculptural friezes points out a date around 9th century)	Durgā
Mādhava Mudgala	Niali	Cuttack	08th-09th	Vaiṣṇava (13th century temple)	Ādimūrti

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Madhukeśvara temple	Mukhaliṅgaṃ, on the left of Vaṁsadhara	Srikakulam	08th-09th	Śaiva (7th century)	*Śākta* shrine
Mahādeva temple	Chasapada	Cuttack Sadr	08th-09th	Śaiva (08th century)	*Śākta* shrines
Mallikeśvara temple [19]	Rayagada, Padmapur	Rayagada	08th-09th	Śaiva (08th century AD)	Śākta shrines
Manikeśvara temple, including the Bhāgavatī temple within the compound	Sukleśvara, Salepur- Kuanpal section	Cuttack	08th	Śiva (7th century AD)	*Śākta* shrines[20]
Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	Śaiva (08th century)	Hara-Hari
Mohanagiri	Rampur	Kalahandi	08th	Śaiva (08th century)	Madanpur
Mohini temple	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	*Śākta* (8th century)	*Śākta* shrines
Pascimesvara temple	Chasapada, Dhenkanal Sadr division	Dhenkanal	08th	Śaiva (08th)	Buddhist, Śiva Naṭarāja
Paścimesvara temple	Amangeikuda Athagarh, Kandarpur	Cuttack	08th	Śaiva (8th century)	Gaṇeśa, Hara Śiva dancing on Nandi
Pātāleśvara temple	Rayagada, Paikapada	Rayagada	08th-09th	Śiva (08th century)	*Śākta* shrines
Rāmeśvara temple	Jajpur town	Jajpur	07th-08th	Śaiva (later period but built on an earlier foundation	Ādimūrti Hṛṣkeśa
Ratnagiri motifs	Jajpur	Jajpur	08th	Buddhist (5th century)	Buddhist, Gaja-Lakṣmī
Siddhesvara temple	Cuttack, Naraja	Cuttack	08th	Śaiva (later temples)	Buddhist, Śaiva sculptures and Puruṣottama
Sikharacandi temple	Patia, near Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	*Śākta* (08th century)	Mahiṣamardinī
Siṁhanātha temple	Baideśvara, South bank of Mahānadī in Baṅki	Cuttack	08th	Śiva (07th century AD)	*Śākta* and Śaiva images[22]
Śiśireśvara	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	Śaiva (08th century)	Viṣṇu, Hari-Hara, Lakṣmī motif on door lintel
Trilocaneśvara Śiva temple, including the Kalamai temple[23]	Kalimisri, Mudupur on Chitrotpala valley Cuttack	Mudupur, Alaka valley Jagatsinghpur	08th-09th	Śiva temple (08th century)	Mahiṣamardinī
Śiva temple Kuṇḍeśvara	Ersama,	On the bank of Alaka, Jagatsinghpur	08th-09th	Śaiva (rebuilt in the last century on the foundation of an earlier one)	*Śākta* shrine
Śiva temple (Trilocaneśvara)	Bankada on the Salima, in Banpur	Puri	08th-09th	Śaiva (8th century)	Maheśvarī, Siṁhavāhini Durgā, Cāmuṇḍā *Śākta* shrine, Viṣṇu image
Someśvara and Liyahari-mandir temple	Ranipur-Jharial	Bolangir	08th-09th	Śaiva (08th century AD)	
Tāleśvara	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	Śaiva (08th)	Śaivite sculptures as *avarana* deity, Gaja-Lakṣmī
Trilocaneśvara Śiva temple	Jajpur town near Viraja	Jajpur district	08th-09th	Śaiva (temple built in 13th century but could be of earlier time)	Cāmuṇḍā
Uttareśvara temple	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	07th 8th	Śaiva (Śaiva temple of the same period	Puruṣottama and other Śaivite sculptures
Vaitala	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	08th	Śakti	Cāmuṇḍā, Varāha

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Virāja and	Jajpur town	Jajpur	08th	*Śākta* (5th century AD; but the present temple is built in 5th century)	Janārdana, Hari, *Śākta* Śaiva sculpture
Yameśvara temple	Bhubaneswar	Bhubaneswar	08th-09th	Śaiva (13th century)	*Śākta* sculptures of 9th century AD

This period was marked by three important developments. First in the sphere of Buddhism, we have the evidence of *stūpa* and sculptural *maṇḍalas* (Dealt in Section II). Second, of this Chapter there is evidence of expansion of Śaktism and Śaivism in all parts of Orissa. As pointed out in ff 20, one finds numerous examples of *Śākta* temple within 8th century Śaiva complex. In the sphere of Buddhism the evidence suggests continuation of establishments of Chitrotpala-Birupa and Kimiria valleys, as well as the emergence of new sites like Vajragiri, Kolanagiri and Kalyanpur in the same belt. But the large presence of Buddhism in the Alaka-Lower Mahānadī valley in present-day Jagatsinghpur district and in Prācī valley was a significant development of the period. Similarly, Buddhism began to find foothold across Vaitaraṇī in Jajpur and Balasore region, where establishments like Solampur and Ajodhyā came up during this period.

In the sphere of brahmanical religions, most notable development is the spread of *Śākta* cults and presence of *pañcayatana* temple within the Śaiva complex. Further Gaja-Lakṣmī motif is found in religious shrines of all religions. Various scholars believe that some of the temples of the Prācī valley belong to 8th-9th century AD, which Donaldson ascribes to 13th century AD.[24]

3.5 9th-12th Centuries

The three centuries between C. 9th to 12th century AD saw a great change in the religious landscape of the period. The most notable development is the level of increase in the numbers of sites and sculptures; the second important characteristics is the preponderance of goddess cult across religions – both in brāhmanical Śaktism and in Tārā and other goddess worship within Buddhism. Third striking development of the period was the emergence of gigantic temples and the emergence of Bhubaneswar as important Śaiva *Kṣetra*. The period was a momentous one from the number of new centres which came up during the period. The following tables document the religious landscape of Orissa district-wise. The administrative block in which the religious sites are located is carefully verified from 2001 Census.

3.5.1 *Undivided Balasore District*

In Balasore district the religious sites were concentrated in Bhadrak-Balasore division and not many sites are found in north Balasore, particularly in Basta, Jaleswar[25] and Bhograi blocks, which were to emerge as important religious centres in the medieval period. Major concentration is along the basin of river Salandi; the other along the river Son; many sites of Mayurbhanj district are also located along these river basins. The third major concentration is along the coast.

MAP No. 2
MAJOR TEMPLE SITES OF

But the above list indicates expansion of all religions, and cults, including that of Jainism in Balasore region. Different forms of Viṣṇu are found in Kaupar Solampur, in the Khajureśvara temple complex of Sheragarh (De 1953b: 257-258). The following table presents the number of sculptures of different cults, which are found from undivided Balasore district.

Table 3.3: Sculptures from Balasore district (9th –11th century AD)

Sites	*Location*	*Date of the sculptures in century*	*Present Religious structures*	*Important Sculptures*
Caṇḍī temple, Avana[26]	Soro, 20 km southeast	09th-11th	*Śākta* (8th century)	Buddhist images, votive seals, terracotta plaques, Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* image, Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī, two Mahiṣamardinī images
Ajodhyā[27]	Nilagiri	09th-11th	Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jaina	Brāhmanical and Buddhist
Badagaon	Bahanaga, Soro	09th-11th	Buddhist	Vajravarāhi, Astikajarat-kuru, ten-armed Mahiṣa-mardinī Durgā
Badia	?	09th-11th	Buddhist	Three headed Devī
Balasore	Balasore	09th-11th	Jaina	Jaina
Balasore town	Balasore FM College,	9th-11th		Stūpa remains, Avalokita, Maitreya,
Maṇināgeśvara temple	Bardhanpur, Balasore Sadr	09th-11th	Śaiva (19th century) built on the material of an earlier temple	Śaiva and Śākta sculptures (Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairava, āvaraṇa deity in the form of Gaṇeśa, Durgā and Kārtik-keya).
Basta	Basta block	09th-11th	———	Avalokiteśvara
Bhimapur	Balasore Sadr	09th-11th	Śākta	Cāmuṇḍā, Jaina
Biranci-Nārāyaṇa	Palia, Tihidi	10th	Vaiṣṇava (13th century)	Anantasayin Viṣṇu, Mahiṣa-mardinī, Nṛsiṁha
Budhar Candi	Sajjangarh Nilagiri	10th-11th	*Śākta* (18th century)	Cāmuṇḍā, Marici
Charampa	Bhadrak	09th-11th	Jaina	Jaina
Dākeśvarī	Chanbali block, Orasahi	09th-11th	*Śākta* (later)	Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, Mahiṣāmardinī Durgā
Dhūpasilā	Nilagiri block	09th-11th	———	Marici
Domagandara	Domagandara, east of Ajodhyā	09th-11th	*Śākta*	Varāhi, Nṛtta Gaṇeśa, fourarmed Agni, Marici
Lankeśvara Śiva temple	Khaira block, Gandhibeda	09th-11th	Śaiva (new pidha temple on a collapsed foundation)	Buddhist and Śaiva sculptures
Gohiritika	Dhamnagar block	09th-11th	———	Buddhist (*Stūpa* remains)
Kumāreśvara Śiva temple	Guamala Bhadrak, Balasore	09th-11th	Śaiva (11th)	Manasā, Trivikrama
Jayarampur	Bhograi block	09th-11th	———	Buddhist
Kasba	Kasba, near Bhimapur	09th-11th	———	Buddhist Dākinī Maṇḍala
Kanheibindha	Soro block	10th	*Śākta* (recent)	Mahiṣamardinī Durgā
Kaupar[28]	Bonth block	09th	Vaiṣṇava (Biranci-Nārāyaṇa temple of the last century)	Nṛsiṁha Viṣṇu, Śaiva, *Śākta*, Ekajaṭā
Khadipada	Dhamnagar block	09th-11th	Buddhist remains transferred to Orissa State Museum and Śākta (recent)	*Stūpa* remains, Avalokite-śvara, Mahiṣamardinī
Khaira	Khaira block	09th-11th	———	Avalokita, Vajrapāni, coins, Buddha
Khilateśvara	Khadipada, Dhamnagar block, Bhadrak	12th	Śaiva (old temples collapsed)	Trivikrama Viṣṇu, Umā-Maheśvara

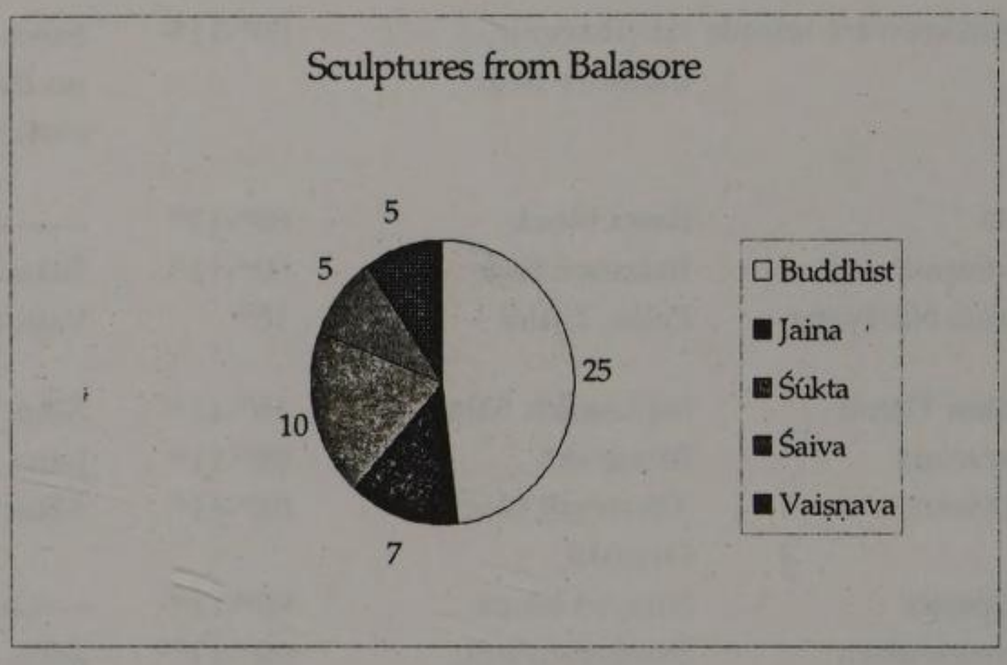
(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Khajureśvara temple complex[29]	Sheragarh, on the Soro-Nilagiri road	09th-11th	Śaiva-*Śākta*	Śaiva, Viṣṇu, Jaina, *Śākta*, Buddhist
Kupari[30]	Khaira block	09th-11th	Pārvatī temple	Buddhist Stūpa remains, Tārā
Laṅkeśvara Mahādeva	Gandhibedha, Khaira	10th-11th	Śaiva temple of the last century built on an earlier foundation	Śaiva sculptures
Mangalpur[31]	Khaira block	09th-11th	————	Buddhist
Manikchauk	Baliapal	09th-11th	Jaina	Jaina
Maṇināgeśvara temple	Bardhanpur, Balasore Sadr	09th-10th	Śaiva	Śaiva, Bhairava, Cāmuṇḍā, Kārtikkeya, Gaṇeśa and Durgā
Martasol	Bhograi/Basta	09th-11th	————	Jaina
Narendrapur[32]	On Candbali road	09th-11th	Pattamangala temple is a 19th century temple	Varāhi, Gaṇeśa, Śiva liṅgaṃ
Solampur[33]	Dhamnagar block	09th-11th	Śākta (Thakurani shed Vaiṣṇava (Raghunātha temple) (recent)	Buddhist, Viṣṇu, brāhmanical

3.5.1 (a) *Discussion*

Buddhist sculptures are found from 25 places. There are not many Viṣṇu sculptures. However, such a classification for cult popularity is too oversimplistic. First, many of the Buddhist sculptures are now worshipped in brahmanical temples and their original provenance was not known. More importantly, sculptures of different cults are worshipped in one complex. Thirdly as we have argued in the *Introduction* that a rigid classification which simplistically divided divinities up under the headings, Buddhism, Śaivism, and Vaiṣṇavism, would be pure nonsense; under different names, and at different levels, the same gods are the most part common to different confessions.



More important from the standpoint of our discussion is the pattern of distribution of deities and their concentration in a particular site, if any. It is to be noted that unlike the Hari-Hara cult of Bhubaneswar, as in the previous period, Balasore does not yield many images of Hari-Hara cult. On the other hand Viṣṇu images are either restricted to various forms of sthānkasmurtis as in the case of Ādimūrti image of Raghunātha temple of Solampur or Purusottama image of Sheragarh, or Dasāvatara set as in case of the Nṛsiṁiha image of Kaupar. The Beleśvara temple also preserves a beautiful Viṣṇu, which can be dated to 12th century AD.

From the standpoint of Śaivism Narendrapur in the Chanbali block of the present Bhadrak district was the most important site. Right from the Paṭṭamaṅgala temple at the start of the village, we encountered around ninety-nine Śiva liṅgams of myriad size. Further a Nṛtta Gaṇeśa and an image of mother goddess Varāhi, stylistically

similarly to the *Saptamātṛkā* image of Jajpur are found. A *nabagraha* panel on the door lintel with an inscription of 12th century AD character is also found during the survey. From the huge amount of Śiva *liṅgams,* Narendrapur can safely be regarded as an important Śaiva centre.

The Khajūreśvara temple complex has a number of temples stylistically belonging to 9th century AD. But the main Khajūreśvara Śiva temple had collapsed long ago, and the present temple is a *piḍhā* temple reconstructed recently. Similarly, the original Maṇināgeśvara temple of Bardhanpur in Balasore Sadr had collapsed and in its place is a *rekhā* style temple of 18th century AD.

Four main concentrations of Buddhism are Solampur in Dhamnagar block, Ajodhyā in Nilagiri block, and Jayarampur in Bonth block, and Avana in Bahanaga block and Kupari in Khaira block.

Solampur preserves a vast array of Buddhist and brāhmanical sculptures in the Thakurani shed and on the exterior of the Raghūnātha temple. Fieldwork reveals debris of habitation settlement. The Neulpur grant of Subhakaradeva of Bhaumākara dynasty refers to donation of the village to two hundred *brāhmaṇas* but curiously it preserves many Buddhist sculptures (Mishra 1934).

Ajodhyā was another important early medieval Buddhist site that has been left to ruin. The Maricai temple preserves beautiful images of Mārici, Mañjūśrī and Lokeśvara dated to 11th -12th century AD. The Uttareśvara temple preserves a beautiful rare image of Vajra Tārā. But Ajodhyā was an important religious centre with a number of sculptures scattered here and there. Survey reveals the moulding of a ruined laterite temple as also a rampart. It also brought to light beautiful image of Gaṇeśa, Tārā, a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa image of a slightly later period, Jaina Tīrthaṅkara images and other remains testify its poly religious background.

Kupari in Khaira block, at the time of John Beams in the middle of the 19th century AD, had remains of a ruined Buddhist establishment but now we got nothing except an image of Siṁhavāhinī Durgā.

However, what is important from the standpoint of our discussion is the presence of important sites where images of different cults are concentrated. I have identified the following sites, which were important to understand the religious dynamics of the period. They provide clue about the way religious equation in a poly religious context operated.

3.5.1 (b) *Ajodhyā, Sheragarh, Avana, Solampur*

Ajodhyā

Ajodhyā is located in the Nilagiri block of Balasore district (86^0 45′10.7" E; 21^0 33' 29"). The village is modelled on Ajodhyā of north India and is surrounded by the river Garghara on the east, Sona on the north and Sindhu on the south. Ajodhyā is rich in archaeological heritage. While earlier scholars have focused more on famous Buddhist images of the place, exploration have brought to fore many more artefacts and images, which indicate the religious dynamism of the settlement.

Apart from Buddha, Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara and Marici and Mañjūśrī images in the Maricai temples, and some of the *Tīrthaṅkara* images of in the Śiva temple in the Marici temple complex, exploration have brought to fore images of Tārā, Vajra Tārā in Uttareśvara temples, image of Umā-Maheśvara, Umā-Maheśvara with a child on Pārvatī's lap, Image of Viṣṇu with kneeling Garuḍa, *cakras*, miniature temples, six-armed Mahiṣamardinī, Sarasvatī, Gaṇeśa, etc. The Maricai temple was built not long back on the ruins of an earlier temple. The mound of a ruined temple is encountered in the village whose laterite mouldings were partially visible.

Sheragarh

Sheragarh in Soro block contains images of all cults and religions. While Jaina *tirthānkaras* are found here, the Khajūreśvara temple complex and the surrounding area preserves beautiful images of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Vaiṣṇavī in Durgā temple and an images of Puruṣottama in a small shed. The Khajūreśvara temple complex preserves *Khākharā* style and a *rekhā* style temple belonging 9th century AD. Made of laterite block, Khajūreśvara temple complex was one of the most imposing temple complexes of Balasore in that period. Further, on the exterior wall of S. Senapati's house is affixed an image of Buddhist Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā, which is iconographically dated to 10th century AD.

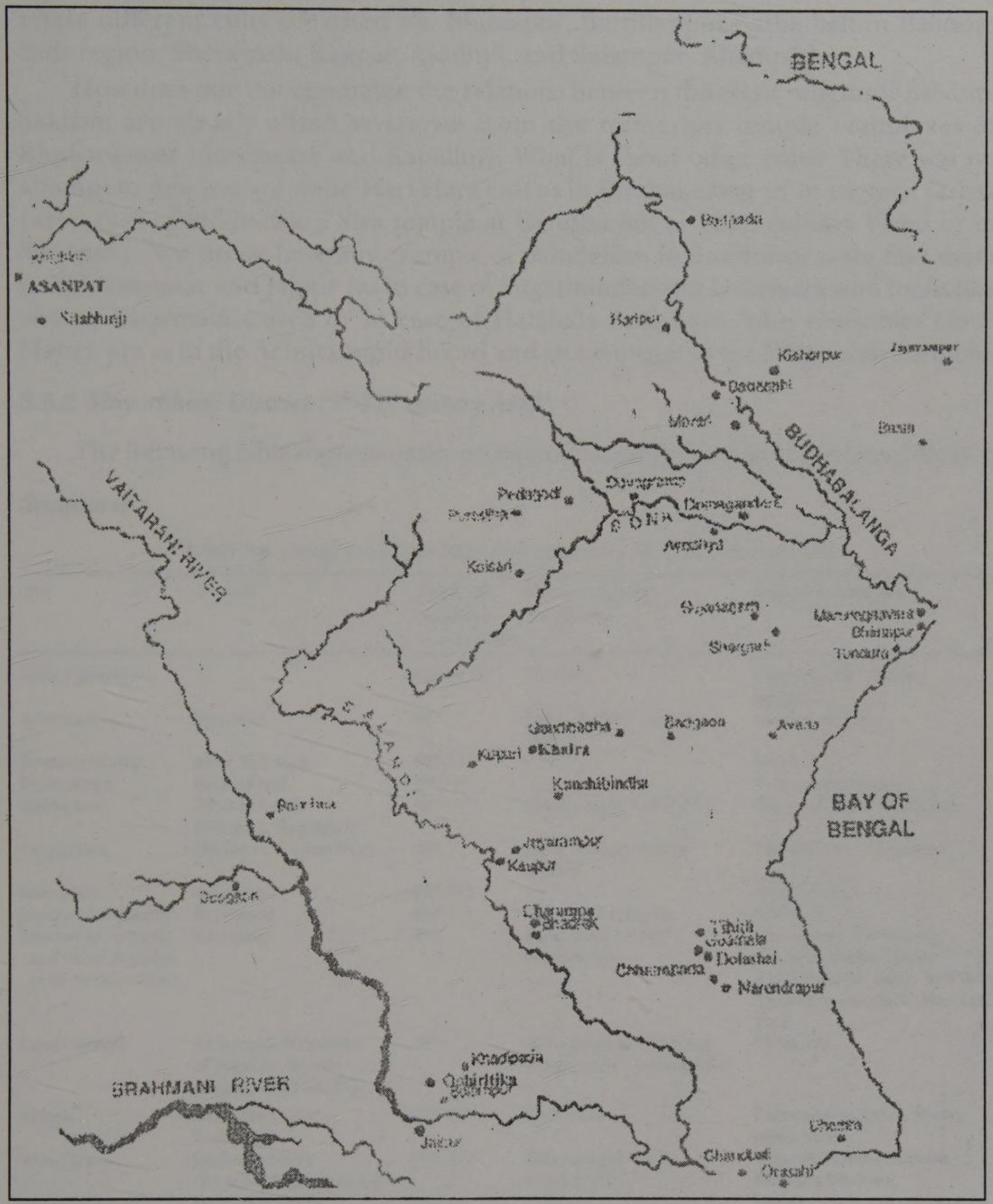
Avana

Located in the Soro block, Avana was excavated by students of a local college. Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist sculptures were found in 1981, including numerous terracotta seals inscribed with Buddhist *dhāraṇis*, Bodhisattva and Jaina images, Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī, two Mahiṣamardinī images, a saptamātṛkā panel and the Caṇḍi temple. The Caṇḍī temple, made of laterite block is built in *Khākharā* style and contains an inscription, which can be palaeographically dated to 10th century AD. The presiding deity is a three-headed, eight-armed emaciated Cāmuṇḍā.

Solampur

Solampur is located just opposite of Jajpur town on the other side of river Vaitaraṇī. Many of the sculptures found their way to different museums in India and outside. Still there are around 40 sculptures found in the Thakurani shed and Raghunātha temple complex of the village, which include some rare Buddhist images, like the eight miracles of Buddha on the exterior wall of the Raghunātha temple. While the Buddhist site of Khadipada is located to its northwest, the Varāha temple of Jajpur is just three km. from Solampur. The Varāha temple preserves a 10th century AD image of Varāha, as also an image of Dhanada Tārā. Similarly, Khadipada also yielded beautiful images of Durgā.

From the above discussion it is clear that the religious landscape of Balasore between 9th to 12th centuries AD reveals a great expansion of all cults. It is to be noted that as one moves northwestward from Jajpur one witnesses the preponderance of the goddess cult in northwest Balasore and Mayurbhanj. There were many centres



MAP No. 3

IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS SITES IN NORTHEAST ORISSA

where different cults coexisted *viz.* Bhimapur, Bardhanpur-Kasba belt in Balasore Sadr region, Sheragarh, Kaupar, Ajodhyā, and Solampur- Khadipāda.

How does one conceptualise the relations between different religions? Śaivism-Śaktism are clearly allied as known from the numerous temple complexes of Bhubaneswar (Śiśiresvara and Kapālinī). What is about other cults? There was no attempt to develop syncretic Hari-Hara cult as in Bhubaneswar or in western Orissa (as in case of Siddheśvara Śiva temple at Gandharadi or Nīlamādhava Viṣṇu or in Sonepur). Nor do we have any example of parallelism in Buddhism as we find them in Bhubaneswar and Jajpur (as in case of Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara who looks like Śiva in Dharmasala area or in case of Halāhala Lokeśvara, who resembles Umā-Maheśvara as in the Achutarajpur hoard and stone image in the Megheśvara temple.

3.5.2 *Mayurbhanj District (9th-11th century AD)*[34]

The following table represents the provenance of sculptures in Mayurbhanj district:

Sculptures

Table 3.4 : Sculptures from Mayurbhanj district (9th –11th Century AD)

Sites	*Location*	*Date of the sculptures in century AD*	*Present Religious structures*	*Important Sculptures*
Bada Jagannātha	—	Baripada	08th-09th	Vaiṣṇava (18th century) Ādimūrti
Baidyanātha	Manatari	12th	Śaiva (15th-16th century AD)	Dāmodara, Jaina
Beguniavandha	Near Khiching	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Bhimakand	Bhimakand	9th-10th	—	Anantasāyin Viṣṇu
Bhīmeśvari	Bhīmaśrī near Pedagadi, Kaptipada	09th-11th	Śākta temple (10th-11th)	Śākta and Śaiva sculptures
Devagrāma	Manatari, 3 miles from	09th	Śaiva (ruined temple of 11th)	Śākta temple, sculptures
Itamunda	Khiching	09th-11th	—	*Stūpa* remains
Jagannātha temple	Kaptipada	09th-11th	Vaiṣṇava (recent)	Buddha
Kicakeśvari temple and other temples in its surrounding	Khiching	10th	Śaiva-*Śākta* 11th-12th century AD)	Kicakeśvari (Cāmuṇḍā); two Śiva temples, Janārdana, Vaiṣṇavī, Jaina, Buddhist, Akṣobhya maṇḍala, Mañjūśrī, Tārā,
Caṇḍī temple	Kishorpur, Northeast of Jugal on Ripsaw-Baripada Railway line	09th	*Śākta* (ruined *Khakhara* temple of 9th century AD)	Cāmuṇḍā
Koisali	Badasahi (near Bada Sahi)	09th-11th	Ruined site	Puruṣottama, cakra, Pārśva nātha image
Koisarigarh	Badasahi block (28 miles from Baripada)	09th-10th	Śākta temple (10th Century AD)	Uma-maheśvara, Manasa, Ekapāda Bhairava,
Kosangarh	Near Sajjaṅgarh	09th-11th		Marici
Lokanātheśvara temple	(Seven km from Udala	09th-11th	Śaiva (recent)	
Pasa Caṇḍī temple	Badasahi	09th-11th	Śākta (Ruined temple 9-10th century)	Śākta and Śaiva, Marici, Buddha
Śiva temple	Badasahi	09th-11th	Śaiva (recent)	Avalokiteśvara, Tārā
Rasikaraya temple	Hariharpaur and surrounding areas	09th-11th	Vaiṣṇava (16th century)	
Udāla	Udāla	09th-11th	—	Saṁkṣipta Marici

3.5.2 (a) *Discussion*

In Mayurbhanj district the preponderance of goddess tradition is quite evident from the distribution of sculptures. If one looks at the distribution of sculptures and sites one finds that the major concentration is in the Son- Budhabalang basin on the one hand (particularly in the Bada Sahi block and Khiching in the Bahalda block. It is to be noted that Bahalda was the main line of communication with the Singhbhum district and Roman gold coins were found from the place.

Khiching was the capital of the Bhanjas of Khijjiṅgakottā in 10th century AD, and has yielded Neolithic potteries and iron implements. Khiching and the surrounding area like Koisari (Ajaikapāda Bhairava), Itamundi (*stūpa* remains), Maninageśvara temple of Purangaon Śaiva temple of 11th century AD), Chaudigarh (Bhairava), Saṅkhuarāja (Umā-Maheśvara), Kakkatiput and Kutai (Jaina *tīrthāṅkaras*) preserve sculpture of diverse cults. These sculptures are mostly dated between 9th to 11th century AD while some of them belong to 8th century AD (Joshi 1983: 86-100).

3.5.3 *Undivided Cuttack District*

The following table represents different sculptures found in different sites. Date of the structure, if any, is mentioned in the parentheses in Column 5.

Table 3.5: Sculptures from Undivided Cuttack district (9th –11th Century AD)

Sites	*Location (Block Village)*	*New District*	*Date of the Sculptures Century AD*	*Religious Sculptures*	*Important Sculptures of the period*
Bairoi	?	Cuttack	09th-11th		Buddhist, Appendix 1
Barudi	?	Cuttack	09th-11th		Buddhist, Appendix 1
Gopalpur	?	Cuttack	09th-11th		Appendix 1
Kumbheśvara temple	Athagarh, Depada; Athagarh-Khuntuni road	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva temple (11th century AD)	Śaiva sculptures
Svapneśvara Mahādeva	Banki, Ratnagarh, previously known as Saranda	Cuttack	09th	Śaiva	
Hatamal	Banki? Baramba	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Baramba	Baramba	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Siṁhanātha	Baramba	Cuttack	09th	Śaiva (7th)	Hara-Hari, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara, Hari-Hara Janārdana
Durgā temple	Baramba	Cuttack	09th	*Śākta* (7th)	Janārdana and other *Śākta* sculptures
Champeśvara Śiva temple	Baideśvara, Baramba Champeśvara, between Baramba-Narsinghpur	Cuttack	09th-10th	Śaiva (9th-10th)	
Kapila	Binjharpur block	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Baideśvara temple	Choudwar	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva (11th)	
Chateśvara	Choudwar	Cuttack	12th-13th	Śaiva; Gaṇeśa,	

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Śiva temple				Kārtikkeya and Pārvatī	
Choudwar	Choudwar	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Choudwar	Choudwar	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Kapaleśvara Śiva temple	Choudwar	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva (11th century AD)	Śaiva sculptures
Uttareśvara	Choudwar	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva (11th century AD)	Śaiva and Buddhist sculptures
Maninageśvara temple	Choudwar, near	Charbatia	Cuttack	12th-13th	Śaiva (12th)
Cuttack	Cuttack	Cuttack	09th-11th	Jaina	
Bhanpur, Pratāpnagarī	Cuttack Sadr	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Kapileśvara temple	Cuttack Sadr	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva: pidha temple (10th-11th century)	Śaiva temple
Khaira temple shed	Cuttack Sadr	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
	Cuttack Sadr, Charichhak	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Pratāpnagari	Cuttack Sadr, Cuttack-Bhubaneswar road	Cuttack	10th-11th	Vaiṣṇava (recently built)temple shed)	Jānārdana
Siddheśvara temple	Cuttack Sadr, Naraja	Cuttack	09th century AD	Śaiva (later)	Viṣṇu, Avalokiteśvara (9th century AD) and other Buddhist sculptures
Dhakulei Thakurani	Cuttack Sadr, Pratāpnagarī on Cuttack-Bhubaneswar road	Cuttack	09th-11th	Śākta (recent)	Eight-armed Cāmuṇḍā
Paścimeśvara temple	Cuttack Sadr, Khanderpur (Amangai island)	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva (10th)	
Akheśvara temple	Cuttack Sadr, Phulnakahara	Cuttack	12th	Śaiva (13th)	
Cuttack town	Cuttack-Niali road	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist (brought from Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri)
Sisua	Cuttack Sadr, Kantapara	Cuttack	09th-11th	eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī	
Jagannātha temple	Madhupurgarh Darpani	Cuttack	09th century	Vaiṣṇava (14th-15th)	*Viṣṇu*
Bagalpur	Govindpur	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Tārā (11th), Varāha, Trivi-krama (12th)
Svapneśvara temple and Durgā temple	Govindpur Adaspur	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva (13th)	Jaina, ten-armed Mahiṣa-mardinī Buddhist sculpture (10th), Varāha, Nṛsiṁha (10th-11th)
Ananta-Vasudeva	Govindpur Anala,	Cuttack	10-11th	Viṣṇu (11th century AD)	Janārdana
Gupteśvara temple	Govindpur Berhampur via Chasapada,	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva (11th)	Śaiva sculptures, Mahiṣa mardinī Durgā
Nārāyaṇeśvara temple	Govindpur Berhampur via Chasapada, Govindpur B	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva (11th)	

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Agikhia maṭha	Govindpur, Adaspur, Sohagpur, in the Praci valley	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist (Appendix 1)
Chateśvara temple	Kendrapara-Cuttack-Kendrapara	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva, *Rekhā deula*(10th)	
Kusupur	Mahanga block	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Lalitgiri	Mahanga block	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Mahanga	Mahanga block	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Bhagavati	Mahanga block	Cuttack	09th-11th	Śaiva-Śākta(7th)	ten-armed Mahiṣardinī Durgā
Manikeśvara	Suklesvara, Mahāṅga Śukleśvara,	Cuttack	09th century AD	*Śaiva* (7th)	Janārdāna, other forms of Viṣṇu, Śaiva sculptures
Baujang	Mahāṅga, Near Lalitgiri	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Kesariapur	Mahāṅga, Near Lalitgiri	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Parabhadi	Mahāṅga, opposite Lalitgiri hill	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Champeśvara	Narsinghpur	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Baneswarnasi	Narsinghpur block	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Bhattarika	Narsinghpur block	Cuttack	09th-11th	Śākta (14th)	Buddhist
Bhagavatī temple	near Salepur	Cuttack	11th	Śākta-Śaiva (12th)	Mahiṣamardinī
Amanakuda-garh	Bateśvara, Niali	Cuttack	09th-11th	Śākta	
Ananta-Vasudeva	Niali	Cuttack	10th-11th	Vaiṣṇava (13th)	Janārdana
Aṅgeśvara Mahādeva	Niali	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva (13th-14th)	Janārdana
Sobahaneśvara	Niali	Cuttack	10th-11th	Śaiva (12th)	Janārdana, Varāha
Lakṣmī-Nṛsimiha	Niali Amareaśvara	Cuttack	10th-11th	Vaiṣṇava (13th)	Janārdana
Mādhavānanda temple	Niali on Prācī Mādhava,	Cuttack	12th	Vaiṣṇava (12th-13th)	Daśāvatāra set
Svapneśvara Mahādeva	Adaspur Niali Govindpur	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva (9th-10th)	
Bhavanakuṇḍe-śvara temple	Niali, Amankuda: 3 miles south-west of Niali	Cuttack	09th	Śaiva (10th-11th)	Śaiva: Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa
Valuṅkeśvara temple	Niali, Amankuda:	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva (11th)	Śaiva: Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa
Kapilamuni	Niali, near Adaspur Āśrama	Cuttack	09th-11th	Recent	Cāmuṇḍā
Phirphira	Niali, Phirphira	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Śiva temple	Niali, Amareśvara	Cuttack	09th-11th	Śaiva (12th)	Ten-armed Cāmuṇḍā, Buddhist
Aṅgeśvara Mahādeva	Pitapara Charichhak, Niali	Cuttack	09th-11th	Temple shed, Śaiva temple (12th-13th) Janardana	Mahiṣamardinī Durgā,

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Paramahaṁsa-nanātha	Paramahaṁsa, on the bank of Kathjori	Cuttack	12th	Śaiva (11th-12th)	
—	Banki Patapur,	Cuttack	12th		Śaiva, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikkeya, Pārvatī
Bateśvara Śiva temple	Salepur	Cuttack	09th-11th	Śaiva (12th) *rekha deula* of *pancaratha*	Manasa, and other Śaiva sculptures
—	Salepur Kendupatna	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Manasa, Cāmuṇḍā
—	Salepur block, Salepur block Nagaspur	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
—	Fakirpatna, Nischintkoili, Salepur block	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
—	Rāmeśvara Salepur block	Cuttack	09th-11th		Buddhist
Padmeśvara temple	Salepur, Bahugram, near, Tentola	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva(11th)	Śaiva sculptures
Rāmeśvara temple	Salepur, Bhagagvatpur, Rāmeśvara	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva (10th)	
Natara	Salepur, Kendupatna	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Kalanpur	Salepur, Kendupatna area of Salepur	Cuttack	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Kalagni,	Salepur, near; Kalagni, Betei,	Cuttack	11th	Śaiva temple; Pidha style (11th)	
Viśveśvara temple	Salepur, Raghabapur; Sisua	Cuttack	10th	Śaiva; Pidha temple (10th)	
Marici temple	Balikuda block Maricipur,	Jagatsin-ghpur	11th	*Śākta* (recent) with the Buddhist deity Marici in the sanctum	Buddhist
Kuttamcandi	Balikuda, Debidol	Jagatsin-ghpur	10th	*Śākta* (ruined temple) Mahiṣamardinī, Cāmuṇḍā	Nṛsiṁha, Hara-Pārvatī,
—	Ersama Durgāpur	Jagatsin-ghpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Uttareśvari temple	Ersama, Ebirisingh	Jagatsin-ghpur	09th-11th	*Śākta* (recent)	10-armedMahiṣamardinī Durgā
—	Ersama Garam	Jagatsin-	09th-11th	*Śākta* (recent temple	Mahiṣamardinī, Siṁhavā-
		ghpur		shed)	hinī Durgā
—	Ersama Sathalapura	Jagatsin-ghpur	09th-11th	Buried shrine	Śaiva: Ajaikapāda Bhairava Vaiṣṇavī, Māṭṛka, Gaṇeśa
Kahnduala temple	Ersama Dihasahi,	Jagatsin-ghpur	09th-11th	*Śākta* (rebuilt on an earlier foundation)	Buddhist, Śākta sculptures of the same period
Kapileśvara Śiva temple	Ersama Ps, Kopala,	Jagatsin-ghpur	09th	Śaiva (later temple)	Mahiṣamardinī Durgā
Brahmeśvara temple	Ersama, Dihasahi, near at Kaupar	Jagatsin-ghpur	10th	Śaiva (date not ascertained)	Śaiva, Umā-Maheśvara, Marici

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Bhagavatī temple	Garam, Ersama	Jagatsinghpur	09th	Recent but built on an earlier collapsed temple	Hari, Mahiṣamardinī Durgā
Denua maṭha	Jagatsinghpur	Jagatsinghpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Nārāyaṇi temple	Jagatsinghpur, *Mudupur*	Jagatsinghpur	09th-11th	—	Eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Avalokiteśvara
Nasikkoṭian temple	Jagatsinghpur	Jagatsinghpur	09th-11th	—	Jaina, Buddhist (Appendix 1)
Trilocaneśvara temple	Jagatsinghpur Kuṇḍeśvara, on the bank of Alaka	Jagatsinghpur	9-12th th	Śaiva (rebuilt)	Cāmuṇḍā, seated Durgā, Dancing Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā, Sūrya Kartikkeya, Viṣṇu, Andhakāsura-saṁhara-muri, Rāvanānu-graha-muri, Avalokiteśvara
Siddheśvara temple	Jagatsinghpur, on the bank of Alaka in Alalnahat	Jagatsinghpur	09th	Śaiva (11th)	Ajaikapāda Bhairava
Dondua maṭha	Kalyanpur	Jagatsinghpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist (Appendix 1)
Paradipgarh	Paradip port town	Jagatsinghpur	09th-11th	—	Ten-armed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Buddhist and Jaina images
Tārāpur	Tirtol block	Jagatsinghpur	09th-11th	—	Marici
Tīrtha maṭha	Turanga	Jagatsinghpur	09th	Vaiṣṇava (recent but preserves numerous Vaiṣṇava sculptures which can be dated to 8th to 12th century AD)	Nṛsiṁha, Hṛṣkeśa and other forms of Viṣṇu
Amarāvatī Kataka	Badacana	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Benipur	Badacana	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Duburi hill	Badacana block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Sakuntalapur	Badacana block, near Chatia	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Pañcapāṇḍava	Badacana Ganeswarpur,	Jajpur	10th	Vaiṣṇava (continuation from earlier period)	Janārdana, other forms of Viṣṇu, Buddha as an *avatarāra* of Viṣṇu
Varāha temple	Badacana, Varahapur, near Chatia	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Sūrya, Bhairava, and Varāha Lakṣmī, Dhanada Tārā *maṇḍala*
Varāha temple	Jajpur town	Jajpur	11th	Vaiṣṇava (16th)	Varāha-Lakṣmī
Aliabad	Bari	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Khandara chak	Dasrathpur	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Kuas Maṅgala	Dasrathpur	Jajpur	09th-11th	Śākta (recent temple built on a collapsed structure)	Ten-armed Mahiṣamardinī, Jambhala
Pāśa Caṇḍī temple	Dasrathpur block Taraṅga	Jajpur	09th-11th	Śākta	Cāmuṇḍā, Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, a dancing Bhairava, Buddha
Asia pat	Dharmasala	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Backslab of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa image now in OSM	Dharmasala	Jajpur	12th	—	Kṛṣṇa, Daśāvatāra set

(Contd...)

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Chandia	Dharmasala	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Dharmasala	Dharmasala	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Durgāpur	Dharmasala	Jajpur	11th	Śaiva, Umā- Māheśvara	
Jaraka Chak	Dharmasala	Jajpur	09th-11th	Buddhist	
Bandaresvara	Dharmasala Bandaresvara	Jajpur	09th	—	Buddhist, Appendix 1
Deuli hill	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Erada	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Kaima/ Radhanagar	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Kolanagiri	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Madhuvana near Oddiso	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Singhpura	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Vajragiri	Dharmasala block	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Gokarṇeśvara	Dharmasala, Jaraka	Jajpur	12th	Śaiva (12th)	
Kapileśvara	Dharmasala, Patapur	Jajpur	11th	Śaiva (date could not be ascertained)	Viṣṇu
Odisoandeigoda	Dharmasala, Singhpur	Jajpur	09th-11th	Buddhist	
Mahakala temple	Dharmasala, Udayagiri, near Chandia,	Jajpur	09th	Saiva (recent)	Buddhist
—	Jaguleipitha	Jajpur	09th-11th		Varāha, Manasā
— Singhpur	Jajpur B., Singhpur	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Jaina, Viṣṇu temples and different forms of Viṣṇu in the pond.
Dasasvamedha-ghat	Jajpur	Jajpur	10th	Śākta	*Saptamāṭṛkā* set
—	Chahata, Dharmasala	Jajpur	10th	Śākta (recent)	Saptamātṛkā set
Beleśvara	Jajpur town	Jajpur	12th	Śaiva (12th century AD) but now ruined	Trivikrama (13th), Gaṇeśa (11th)
Khilateśvara	Jajpur town	Jajpur	11th	Śaiva (rebuilt on a collapsed one)	Umā- Maheśvara
Siddheśvara temple	Jajpur town	Jajpur	09th-11th	Śaiva (13th century but can be of earlier date)	Buddhist
Trilocaneśvara	Jajpur town	Jajpur	09th	Śaiva (13th century but could be earlier)	Viṣṇu, Śaiva, Cāmuṇḍā
Viraja	Jajpur town	Jajpur	09th	Śākta (5th)	Hari, Hrsikeśa , Janārdana (8th) Ardhanārīśvara, Cāmu-ṇḍā, Ekapāda Bhairava, Kārtikkeya, Gaṅgā-Yamunā, Lakulīśa, Mahiṣamardinī
Rāvaṇa Tapasyā kuṇḍa	Jajpur town Somanathapur (Trilocanesvara complex)	Jajpur	10th	Śaiva (11th)	
Hatadiha	Kantabania	Jajpur	09th-11th	—	Jaina

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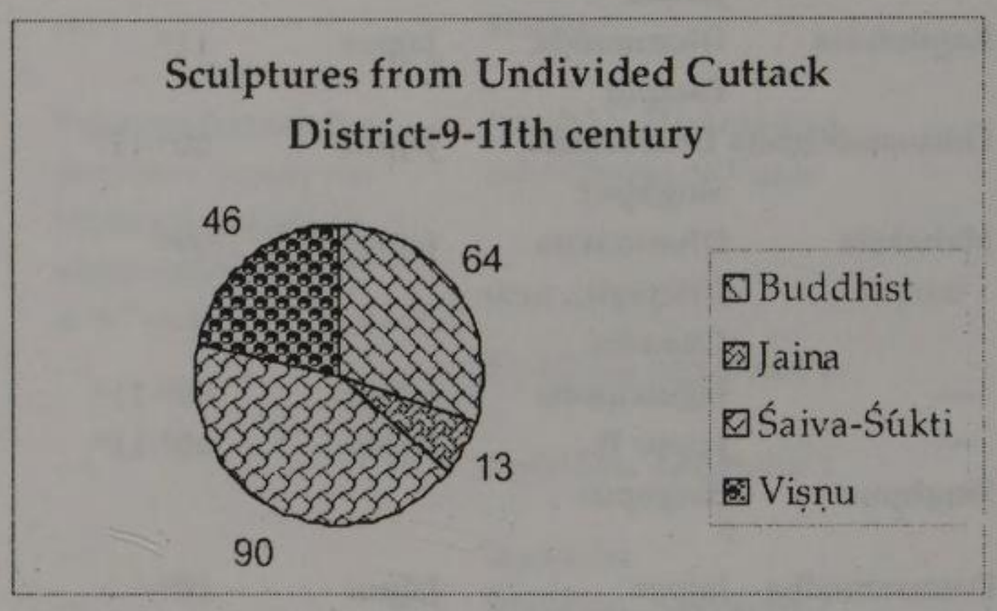
Dhanurjaya temple	Korai	Jajpur	10th	Śaiva (11th)	Śaiva sculptures including a Pārvatī image
Badacharpoi	Mangalpur	Jajpur	09th-11th	————	Jaina
Ali	Ali block	Kendrapara	09th-11th	————	Buddhist Appendix 1
Mausi Ma temple	Kendrapara town	Kendrapara	09th-11th	Vaiṣṇava (later)	Buddhist (brought from Ratnagiri)
Nahahkababu temple	Rajnagar, Bhitarkanika,	Kendrapara	11th	Śākta (Renovated Khakhara style temple; date could not be ascertained)	Mahiṣamardinī Durgā
Śiva temple	Rajnagar, Bhitarkanika, Rajnagar	Kendrapara	11th	Śiva (11th)	
Jaya-Durgā	Rajnagar, Dangamal	Kendrapara	10th	*Śākta* (recent)	Nrsiṁha, 10 armed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Hara-Hari, Anantasāyin Viṣṇu

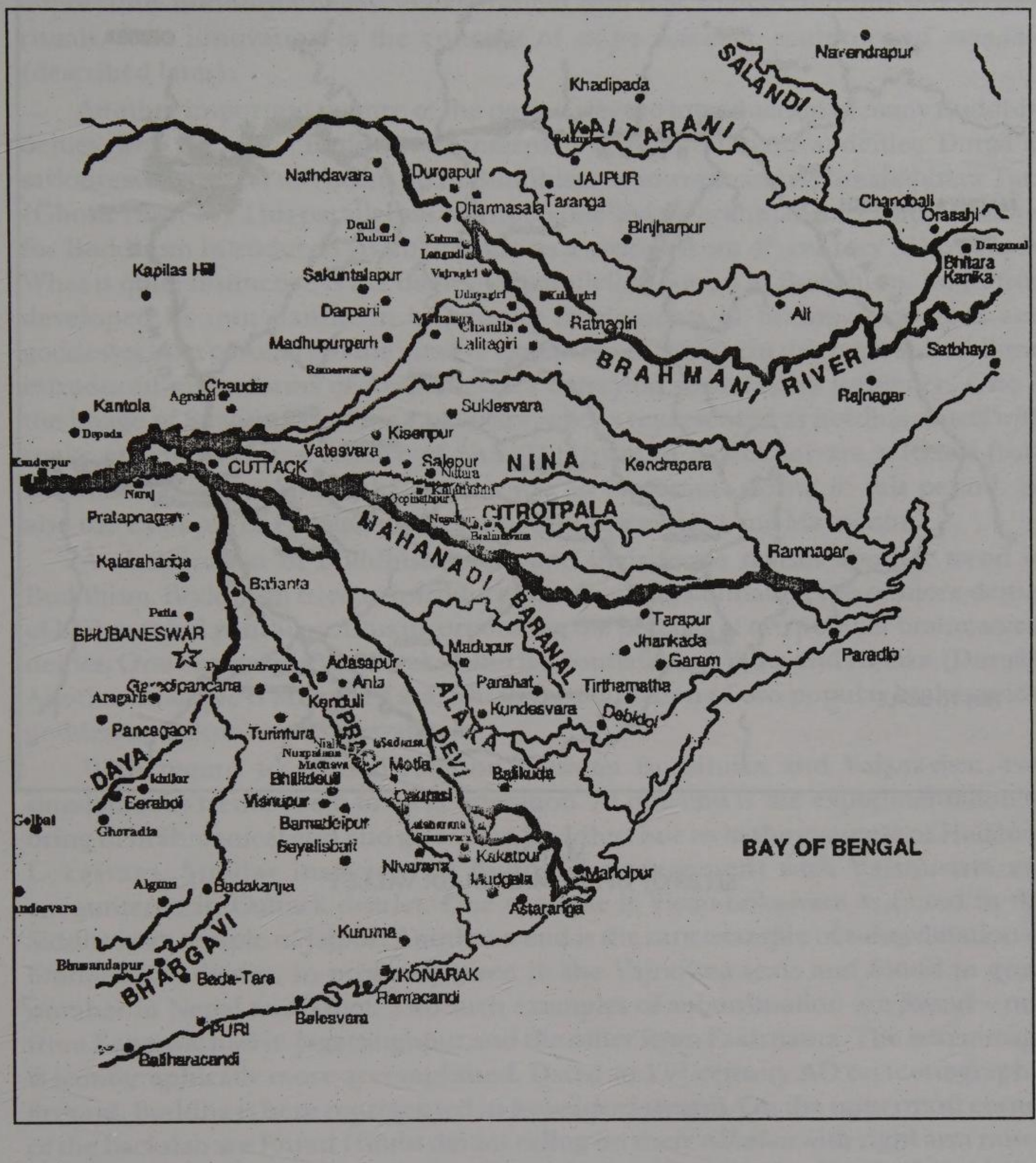
3.5.3 (a) *Discussion*

Three distinguishing features of this period were the emergence of the Prācī valley as a religious cluster, nucleaisation of Buddhist settlements in Kimiria-Birupa-Keluo belt, and great expansion of Śaiva-*Śākta* sites. There were hardly any independent Viṣṇu temples but Viṣṇu worship was gaining momentum. Further, unlike Bhubaneswar where there was a conscious attempt to develop Hari-Hara cult, there is no such evidence here in Cuttack. However, there is sizable presence of different forms of Viṣṇu, which points out the increasing presence of Viṣṇu worship in Cuttack district. Buddhism had strong presence in the area and new Buddhist establishments like Chandia, Duburi, Vajragiri and Kolanagiri came into being, and the existing ones were expanded. However an iconographic study of images reveals that most of the Buddhist sculptures belong to 10th centry-11th century AD, and some to 12th century AD, when Buddhism began to decline in Orissa and Śaivism was on the ascendant. This aspect again raises the question of how religions are to be understood in the early medieval periods.

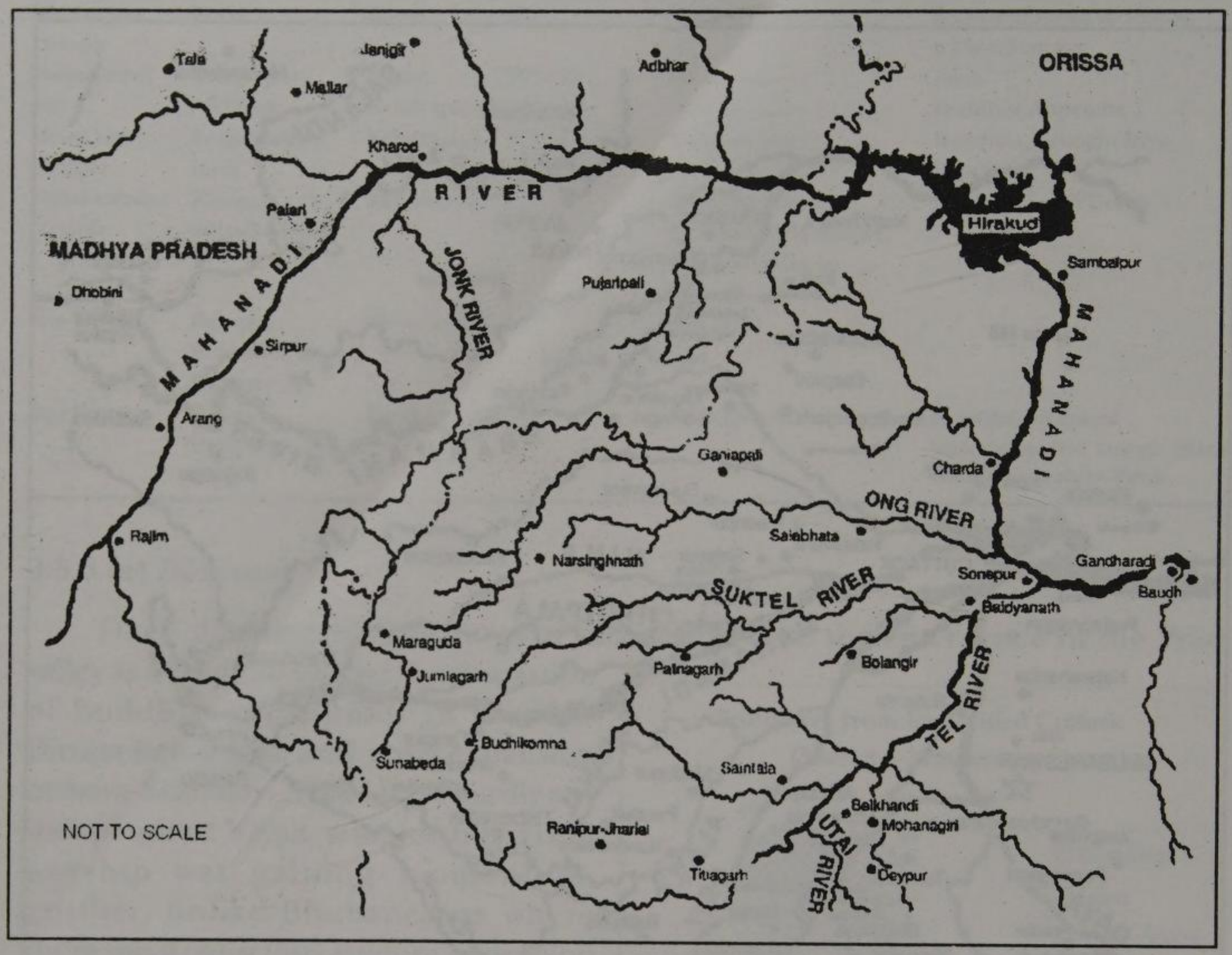


3.5.3 (b) *Buddhism*

One of the most important features of Buddhism was its great expansion in Cuttack district and the emergence of Chitrotpala-Birupa-Kimiria valley as the principal cluster of Buddhism. Monastery I and the *Mahāstūpa* of Ratnagiri expanded during this period. Many of the rock-cut sculptures of Laṅgudī also belong to this period. Outer wall of the Monastery I of Udayagiri also expanded during this period. New Buddhist establishments like Vajragiri, Kolanagiri, Fakirpatna, Chandia,



MAP No. 4
SITES OF MAHANADI DELTA



MAP No. 5
SITES OF UPPER MAHANADI VALLEY

Gohiritika, among others came into existence between 8th -10th centuries AD. More importantly Buddhism began to experiment with new themes and introduced new rituals. One innovation is the concept of *stūpa maṇḍala,* sculpture of *maṇḍala* (described later).

Another important feature of the period was the introduction of many Buddhist deities, who act as the Buddhist counterparts of the brāhmanical deities. Durgā as saviouress in distress was taken up in Buddhism by introducing Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā (Ghosh 1980: 17) This parallelism was not modelled on brahmanical examples alone for Buddhism introduced Avalokiteśvara as a saviour from 4th century AD onwards. What is quite distinctive is the degree of parallelism found in Buddhism. Buddhism developed its own pantheon by brining in elements of brahmanical gods and goddesses. As a corollary to the massive expansion of Śaivism in this period, Buddhism introduced many forms of Avalokiteśvara betraying strong Śaiva influence. One is the image of Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara, who is represented as holding a staff with snake entwined in it, a feature of Śiva. This form of Avalokiteśvara is found from Dharmasala, where Śiva Gokarṇeśvara was an important shrine in this period. So also the example of Halāhaḷa Lokeśvara, who resembles Umā-Maheśvara.

A classification of Buddhist deities and their forms reveals another trend in Buddhism. Buddhism tried to introduce new deities by conflating two or more deities of brāhmanical pantheon, thus incorporating the potency of two popular brahmanical deities. One example is Yamāntaka, who is a conflation of Yama and Antaka (Durgā). Another example is Mahāśrī Tārā, who is the conflation of two popular brahmanical goddesses, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

With regard to mutual relation between Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism, two simultaneous trends seem to be at operation. At one end is the experimentation to bring in brāhmanical god and give them Buddhist hue as in the example of Halāhaḷa Lokeśvara. Similar instances of Buddhist engagement with Vaiṣṇavism are encountered in Cuttack district. One example is Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara as found in the Siddheśvara temple of Jajpur. Another trend is the rare example of subordination of brahmanical deities, so profusely given in the Vajrayāna texts and found in great number in Nepal and Tibet. Two such examples of subordination are found – one from Baneswarnasi in Jagatsinghpur and the other from Fakirpatna. The latter image is iconographically more accomplished. Dated to 11th century AD on iconographic ground, Buddha is here represented in *bhūmisparśamudrā.* On the uppermost corner of the backslab are found Hindu deities riding on their *vāhanas* with right arm raised in threatening posture to suggest that they are the army of Māra. On the left side the four gods – Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and Indra – are repeated and but now each holds his principal set of hands in *añjali mudrā* to indicate that they are paying homage to Buddha (Donaldson 2001: Fig 91).

3.5.3 (c) *Saivism*

Śaivism-Śaktism emerged as the most visible cults in this period if one goes by the number of shrines dedicated to the god and goddess. It is during this period that

great edifices of Bhubaneswar began to be built. Bhubaneswar, known as Ekāmra *Kṣetra* emerged as a classical Śaiva *Kṣetra.* In Cuttack district, Prācī valley emerged as a Śaiva *Kṣetra.* The Paramahaṁsa temple of 42-*mauja* on the bank of the Prācī marks the starting point of this religious cluster along the right bank of river Prācī which continued up to Kakatpur in Puri district.

3.5.4 *Puri district*

Most prominent feature of this period was the substantial presence of Śaivism in the region. Bhubaneswar emerged as Śaiva centre, the most magnificent being the Liṅgarāja temple, which was built in the 11th century AD. More than 200 brick temples dot the landscape of Prācī valley, most of them being Śaiva brick temples, but their dating is a problem. Most likely, most temples were built in the post 12th century AD, except perhaps the Grāmeśvara temple of Nibharana (12th Centry AD) the Pūrṇeśvara temple of Bhilideuli (10th-11th Century AD), Caurasi temple of village Varahi, Mādhava temple of Mādhava and Mādhava Mudgala of village Mudgala temple. On the other hand many Śaiva temples, notably the Kapileśvara temple of Kapilesvara, Grāmeśvara temple of Terundia, Somanātha temple of Bisnupur, Aṅgeśvara Mahādeva of Pitapara, Durgā temple of Motian, Trivieniśvara temple of Tiruṇa (Nayahat-Gop road), Gaṅgesvarī temple of 42-*bati*, and the Grāmeśvara temple of Lataharan (Gop block) belong to post 12th-13th century AD. However, the number of Buddhist sculptures found from these Śaiva temples suggests that Śaivism gained foothold in the Prācī valley only after the decline of Buddhism (sic).

On the other hand there is evidence of the some of the Viṣṇu sculptures of 9th-12th century AD, which suggest that Vaiṣṇavism was gaining ascendancy in Puri district. Important to note is the presence of Viṣṇu images in Puri as in the Kapālamocana temple (12th Century AD) of Puri dated to 10th century AD. However, there is no reliable archaeological details about the emergence of Jagannātha temple in 9th-10th century AD. there are many epigraphic and literary references to Puruṣottama of the coast (Stietencron 1978: 1–31). At Kuruma, a prosperous Buddhist establishment existed close to the Arka-Kṣetra of Konark where the Sun temple was constructed two centuries later. Kuruma has yielded remains of a stūpa, monastery, images of Buddha, Yamāntaka, Lokeśvara and Trivikrama. The *Aṣṭasahasrika Prajñapāramitā Manuscript* in Cambridge University Library Manuscript (No. Add. 1643), dated C. 1015 AD, illustrates Alagataru Tārā, Alagachchhatra-*Caitya* and Kuruma *stūpa* of Odra *dēsa.*

In Khurda division, especially in Dayā valley there is privence of some Buddhist establishments, notably Kukrimunda and Aragarh. Aragarh near Jatni preserves some of the rare Buddhist sculptures of Vajrayāna pantheon, which could be iconographically dated to early 11th century AD. Here Śaivism and Śaktism also predominate. There is evidence of the presence of numerous Śaiva temples in Khurda division dated to 10th-12th centuries AD, most notable being the Jaleśvara temple of Atri-Golbai, Brahmeśvara temple of Beraboi, Gateśvara temple of Algum and numerous other temples of Bhubaneśwar, including the grand Liṅgarāja temple.

On the other hand Bhubaneswar emerged as a classical Śaiva *kṣetra,* even though the archaeological and sculptural evidence indicates the presence of Buddhism and Jainism here. While the Dhauli complex preserves epigraphic reference to the presence of Buddhism in the Bhaumakara period, the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* images atop the Khandagiri and Udayagiri and epigraphic records of the Somavaṁśī period attest to Jaina presence in Khandagiri-Udayagiri.

However, more noteworthy is the adaptation Buddhism was making to cope with Śaivism here in Bhubaneswar. Most of the Buddhist sculptures and artefacts are found in the close vicinity of Bhāskareśvara and Brahmeśvara, indicating close proximity of Buddhist establishments with substantial Śaiva presence in Ekāmra *Kṣetra.* In such scenario Buddhism tried to evolve itself by introducing many Buddhist deities, who closely resemble Śiva. One example is Halāhaḷa Lokeśvara, who closely resembles Umā-Maheśvara. As referred to earlier, Amoghapāśa and Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara are also modelled on Śiva. Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara image, which is found from Bhubaneswar and now in the OSM, Bhubaneswar, represents Lokeśvara as a giver of prosperity.

While we do not have literary evidence, which allude to the religious equations between Śaivism and Buddhism, their co-existence in a shared sacred space poses interesting questions about religious equations in the context of Orissa during 7th to 12th centuries AD.

Table 3.6 : Sculptures from Undivided Puri district (9th –11th Century AD)

Sites	*Location (Block Village)*	*New District*	*Date of the Sculptures in Century AD*	*Religious Sculptures*	*Important Sculptures of the period*
Garteśvara temple	Delang, Algum	Khurda	11th	Śaiva (11th)	
Kukrimunda	Baghamari/	Khurda	09th-11th	Buddhist	
Vasudeva temple	Balianta, Balakati	Khurda	12th	Vaiṣṇava (14th)	Janārdana
Gopinatha temple	Balianta, Jhinti Sasana	Khurda	13th	Vaiṣṇava (14th)	Nṛsiṁha
Aṅgeśvara	Balipatna, Pitapara	Khurda	10th	Śaiva (13th)	Janārdana
Dakṣaprajāpati temple/Tikiria temple	Banpur	Khurda	09th-11th	Śaiva (later)	Buddhist, Śaiva
Achutarajpur	Banpur	Khurda	9th-12th	Bronze hoard	Buddhist, Jaina and brāhmanical
Śiva temple	Banpur, Bankada on the Salima, in Banpur	Khurda	08th-09th	Śaiva (7th)	
Hatakeśvara Śiva	Begunia	Khurda	10th	Śaiva (date not ascertained)	Two eight armed Mahiṣamardinī
Dakhineśvara temple	Begunia, Bagalpur	Khurda	09th-11th	Śaiva (date not ascertained)	Jaina, four-armed Varāhi
Khandagiri-Udayagiri	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	09th-11th	Jaina	Jaina *tīrthāṅkara* image and temple

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Manibhad-reśvara temple	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	11th	Śaiva.	Dasavatāra set
Valuṅkeśvara	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	11th	Śaiva	Hara-Hari
Liṅgarāja	Bhubaneswar	Khurda	11TH	Śaiva	Hara-Hari
Śikharacaṇḍi Patia	Bhubaneswar,	Khurda	9th-10th	*Śākta* (8th)	
Jaleśvara	Jankia, Golbai temple	Khurda	09th-11th	Śaiva (10th) (almost ruined except the deula)	8-armed and 10 armed Mahiṣāmardinī, Pārvatī and other Saiva sculptures, Buddhist sculptures
Siddheśvara temple	Jankia, Gopi-nathpur, near Nirakarpur	Khurda	11th	Śaiva (11th)	
—	Jatni, Aragarh/ Haripur	Khurda	09th-11th		Buddhist
Bhagavatī temple & Jaleśvara Śiva temple	Jatni, Kalaharang, between Bhubane swar-Nandankanan,	Khurda	10th	Śaiva -*Śākta* (10th) mardinī Durgā	Śaiva sculptures, Mahiṣa
Amareśvaragarh	Khurda block	Khurda	09th-11th		Buddhist
Caṇḍeśvara Śiva	Khurda, 28 miles from Khurda on NH 5	Khurda	10th	Śaiva (10th)	
Candeśvara temple	Tangi	Khurda	12th	Śaiva (11th)	Varāha-Lakṣmī
Gopalpur	Ranpur, Ranapur-Candapur road	Nayagarh	09th-11th		Marici
Bhainchua		Puri	09th-11th	Jaina	
Chadehibar		Puri	09th-11th	Jaina	
Benupada	?	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist
—	? Arkarata	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist
Kuruma	Astaranga block	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist, brāhmanical sculptures
Siddhanātha temple	Balianta, Near Hirapur, Bhainchua (Bhargavi valley)	Puri	10th	Śaiva	
64-Yogini temple	Balianta, Hirapur	Khurda	10th	Śākta	64 *yoginis* and hypetheral temple
Kenduli Śiva temple	Balipatna Kenduli Banamalipur Turuntira; Nimapara Road	Puri	12th	Śaiva	Viṣṇu, Janārdana
Buddhanātha temple	Banamalipur, Gardeipancana	Puri	11th	Śaiva (11th-12th)	Śaiva sculptures, Buddhist sculptures
Banpur	Banpur	Puri	09th-11th	Brāhmanical Mahiṣamardinī, Cāmuṇḍā, Buddhist images	
	Bhadrapatna	Puri	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Somanātha temple	Bisnupur	Puri	13th	Śaiva	

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Kapila Prasad	Delang block	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist
Brahmeśvara temple	Delang, Beraboi,	Puri	11th	Śaiva (11th)	
Ghaṇṭeśvara temple	Delang, Gadabegunia-pada	Puri	09th-11th	Śaiva (11th century ruined temple	Dancing Bhairava, eight armed Cāmuṇḍā
Somanātha temple	Delang, Ghorodia	Puri	11th	Śaiva (11th)	Śaiva, Camuṇḍā, Buddhist Images
Grameśvara temple	Gop, Lataharan	Puri	11th	Śaiva (11th)	Śaiva sculptures, Buddhist sculptures, Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*
Taila maṭha	Gop, Taila maṭha	Puri	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Trivieniśvara temple	Gop, Tiruna	Puri	09th-11th	Śaiva (13th)	Buddhist
Tribeniśvara temple	Gop, Tiruna	Puri	?	Śaiva	
—	Gop, Upula	Puri	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Kapileśvara	Jankia, Nirakarpur Dia	Puri	10th th	Śaiva (10th)	
Jaleśvara Śiva temple	Jatni Kalaha-rang, 14 km from Bhubanes-war	Puri	12th	Śaiva (12th)	
Someśvara temple	Kakatpur	Puri	11th	Śaiva	Śaiva sculptures, eight armed Cāmuṇḍā, Ananta-sāyin Viṣṇu
Someśvara	Kakatpur	Puri	11th	Śaiva (11th)	
—	Kakatpur, Kakatpur	Puri	09th-11th		Jaina
Iśvaranātha Juinti,	Kakatpur-	Puri	09th-11th	Śaiva (13th)	Buddhist
—	Kakatpur Sarangdharpur	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist
Nīlamādhava	Kakatpur, Mudgala	Puri	11th		Janārdana
—	Kakatpur, Aṣṭaraṅga	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist
—	Kantikula	Puri	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
—	Khurda block Amarprasad-garh	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist (Guhya Mañju vara)
Viśvanātha temple	Kṛṣṇaprasad-garh	Puri	10th-11th	Śaiva (12th-13th)	Janārdana
Hara-Pārvatī image	Madhipur, near Konark	Puri	12th-13th	Śaiva; Umā-Maheśvara	
Nandīkeśvara	Nandigrama	Puri	11th		Janārdana
Grāmeśvara	Nibharana,	Puri	11th	Śaiva	(12th) Janārdana, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha
Mahādeva	near Nayahat				
Bateśvara temple	Nimapara	Puri	09th-11th		Buddhist
Bamadeipur	Nimapara block	Puri	09th-11th		Eight-armed Cāmuṇḍā
Nilamādhava	Nimapara Chahata,	Puri	10th-11th	Vaiṣṇava	Janārdana

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Amareśvara temple	Nimapara Chahata, near, Caurasi,	Puri	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Nilakantheśvara temple	Nimapara Denua maṭha,	Puri	10th	Śaiva	
Buddhanātha temple	Nimapara, Alanda	Puri	12th	Śaiva	
Bhramaniśvara temple	Nimapara, Balanga Badasiribala near	Puri	11th	Śaiva	
Pūrṇeśvara Śiva	Nimapara, Bhilideuli	Puri	09th	Śaiva (10th)	Ādimūrti
—	Nimapara, Bhilligrama	Puri	09th-11th		Manasā, Astikajaratkuru
Varāhi temple	Nimapara, Caurasi,	Puri	09th-11th		
—	Nimapara,	Puri	09th-11th	—	Buddhist
Ambapāda	Nimapara, Near Motia	Puri	09th-11th	*Śākta*	Ten armed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā. (Inscription dated to early 12th century.
Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha	Nimapara, Nuapatna	Puri	12th	Vaiṣṇava (13th)	Janārdana
Trilocaneśvara temple	Nimapara, Sadansha	Puri	12th-13th	Śaiva(13th)	Śaiva sculptures
Grāmeśvara temple	Nimapara, Terundia	Puri	10th	Śaiva(12th-13th)	
Tulasipur	Nimapara, Tulasipur	Puri	09th-11th		Jaina
Vanabhoga temple	Nimapara/Gop, Paidapatna	Puri	09th-11th	Śaiva (13th)	Buddhist
—	Panchagaon	Puri	09th-11th		Jaina, brāhmanical sculptures
Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple	Prataprudrapur	Puri	09th-11th	Śaiva (11th)	Buddhist
Puri	Puri	Puri	09th-11th		Jaina
Mārkaṇḍeya Tank	Puri	Puri	10th	Śākta	*Saptamātṛkā*
Jagannātha temple	Puri	Puri	12th	Vaiṣṇava (12th)	Janārdana
Jambeśvara temple	Puri South of Jagannātha temple	Puri	12th	Śaiva (12th)	
Kapālamocana	Puri town	Puri	10th-11th	Śaiva (12th)	Janārdana
Badatara	Puri town, near	Puri	09th-11th	Buddhist	Appendix
Sundara Mahādeva	Purusottamapur	Puri	11th	Śaiva (date not ascertained)	Janārdana
Kosaleśvara temple	Sakhi Gopal Sankanjia, near	Puri	11th	Śaiva	
Badasiribala	Nimapara, eight km from	Puri district	09th-11th		Manasā, Astikajaratkuru
Suvarnapur, 3 km from Gop	Gop, Suvarnapur, 3km from Gop	Puri	09th-11th	Śākta	Mahiṣamardinī

Table 3.7 : Bolangir District

Sites	*Location (Block Village)*	*New District*	*Date of the Sculptures in Century AD*	*Religious Sculptures*	*Important Sculptures of the period*
Back slab of Viṣṇu Image	Saiantala	Bolangir	10th		Daśāvatāra set
Back slab of Viṣṇu Image	Saiantala	Bolangir	10th		Daśāvatāra set
Balpadar	Titlagarh	Bolangir	10th	Religious affiliation not known	
Śiva temple	Saiantala block, Deogaon	Bolangir	10th	Śaiva	
Ghodar	Sindhekela, Titlagarh	Bolangir	10th	Religious affiliation not known	
Indralath	Sindhekela PS, Ranipur-Jharial	Bolangir	10th	Vaiṣṇava	Yoganātha Daśāvatara set Janārdana
	Sindhekela PS, Ranipur Jharial	Bolangir	09th-11th	Śaiva	
Jagati	Gandharadi	Bolangir	10th		Hara-Hari
Kansil	Bangomunda, Kansil	Bolangir	09th	Not known	
Kosaleśvara	Sonepur, Baidyanatha	Bolangir	09th-10th	Śaiva	Hara-Hari, Nṛsiṁha Anantasāyin Viṣṇu
Kumda	Titlagarh	Bolangir	10th	Religious affiliation not known	
Kusang	Bolangir block, Kusang, north-east of Bolangir town	Bolangir	09th-10th century AD	*Śākta*	
Nīlamādhava and Siddheśvara temple	Gandharadi	Bolangir	09th-10th	Vaiṣṇava	
Nīlamādhava temple	Gandharadi	Bolangir	10th	Vaiṣṇava	Janārdana
Nīlamādhava and Siddheśvara temple	Gandharadi	Bolangir	09th-10th		
Patnagarh	Patnagarh	Bolangir	09th	Śaiva	
Saiantala Bolangir	Saiantala,	Bolangir	09th century AD		
Sauntpur	Bolangir block	Bolangir	09th-10th	Śaiva	
Sikuan	Titlagarh block	Bolangir	09th- 10th century AD	Not known	
Sinni	Titlagarh	Bolangir	10th	Religious affiliation not known	
Sirekela	Sindhekela	Bolangir	10th	Religious affiliation not known	
Udeypur	Sindhekela	Bolangir	10th	Religious affiliation not known	
	Ranipur- Jharial	Bolangir	10th		Nṛsiṁha
Gandharadi	Jagati, Sonepur	Bolangir	10th	Śaiva (10th)	
Kapileśvara	Charda, Near Binka	Sonepur	10th	Śaiva (10th)	Anantasāyin Viṣṇu[35]
Salebhata	Sindhekela, on the bank of river Ong 10 km north of Bolangir town.	Bolangir	09th-10th	Durgā	20-armed Mahiṣamardinī

Table 3.8 : Baudh and Phulbani and Kalahandi

Sites	*Location (Block Village)*	*New District*	*Date of the Sculptures in Century AD*	*Religious Sculptures*	*Important Sculptures of the period*
Baudh	Baudh	Baudh	09th-11th	Buddhist	
Kapileśvara	Baudh	Baudh	09th-10th	Varāda Gaja-Lakṣmī	
G Udayagiri	Phulbani	Baudh	09th-11th	Buddhist	
Paścima Soma-nātha, Bhuban-eswar and Kapile-śvara temple	Baudh	Baudh	09th-10th	Śaiva	
Caṇḍī temple	Kesinga RS Belkhandi, near	Kalahandi	09th	Sapta-mātrkā set	
Junagarh	Junagarh	Kalahandi	09th-11th		Jaina
Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Śiva temple	Bhawanipatna Dadpur, 10 km from Bhawanipatna	Kalahandi	11th	Śaiva (10th)	
Pātāleśvara	Khariar, Budhikomna	Nuapara	10th	Lotus	Gaja-Lakṣmī
Nīlakantheśvara Śiva temple	Dadpur, 10 km from Bhawani-patna	Kalahandi	11th	Daśāvatāra set	
Brahmeśvara	Budhikomna, near Khariar	Kalahandi	11th	Varada	Gaja-Lakṣmī
Pātālesvara	Khariar Budhi Komna	Kalahandi	10th	Śaiva (10th)	
Śiva temple	? Sankushgarh On the conflu-ence of Buda and Tel	Kalahandi	09th	Śaiva	
Amath	Near Belkhandi	Kalahandi	09th-10th	Religious affiliation not known	

Table 3.9 : Keonjhar, Koraput, Dhenkanal and Ganjam District.

Sites	*Location (Block Village)*	*New District*	*Date of the Sculptures in Century AD*	*Religious Sculptures*	*Important Sculptures of the period*
Keonjhar					
Anandpur	Anandpur Division	Keonjhar	09th-11th	Jaina	
Bhainchua	Anandpur Division	Keonjhar	09th-10th		Śaiva, Umā-Maheśvara, Asti-kajaratkuru Varāhi, Mahiṣa-mardinī Durgā, Buddhist Avalokiteśvara, Jaina *tīrthaṅ-kara*, Trivikrama, Janār-dana, Hara Pārvatī,
Podasingidi	Anandpur Division	Keonjhar	09th-11th	Jaina	
Sainkula	Anandpur Division	Keonjhar	09th-11th	Jaina	
Thunigaon	Anandpur Division	Keonjhar	09th-11th	Jaina	
Gadacaṇḍī temple	Anandpur Division Vaidakhia	Keonjhar	09th-11th	Śākta temple (modern)	Jaina, brahmanical Mahiṣa-mardinī, Manasa, Tīrthaṅ-kara

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Bhainchua	Anandpur, Bhainchua	Keonjhar	09th-11th	Buddhist	
Behera Sahi	Bhainchua	Keonjhar	10th	Viṣṇu	Janardana
Biridiha	Anandpur, two miles of	Keonjhar	10th	Śaiva Umā-Maheśvara	
Dadhivāmana temple	Deogaon, 7 miles from Anandpur	Keonjhar	10th	Vaiṣṇava (later)	Śaiva, Umā- Maheśvara
Durgapur	Anandpur	Keonjhar	09th-11th	*Śākta*	
Hatadiha	Anandpur	Keonjhar	09th-11th		Mahiṣamardinī
Kusoleśvara	Anandpur	Keonjhar	10th	Śaiva	Bhairava
Śiva of Deogaon	Division, Deogaon				
Malaga		Keonjhar	09th-11th	Śākta	Mahiṣamardinī
Koraput, Dhenkanal and Ganjam					
Biranci-Nārāyaṇa	Paikapada	Koraput	10th	Padma	Janārdana
Mallikeśvara temple	Rayagada, Paikapada		Koraput	08th century AD	Śaiva Keśava
Pātāleśvara	Paikapada	Koraput	09th	Śaiva	Hara-Hari
Jeypore	Jeypore	Koraput	09th-11th	Jaina	Jaina
Kotapat	Kotpad, Nawarangpur		Koraput	09th-11th	Jaina
Dhenkanal					
Kanakeśvara	Kualo	Dhenkanal	09th	Śaiva(8th)	Hara-Hari Hara-Hari Vaiṣṇavī, Viṣṇu and other deities
Kapilasa		Dhenkanal	09th-11th	Śaiva (13th)	Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā
Bhimakhand	Kanika Taluk	Dhenkanal	10th	—	Anatasāyin Viṣṇu
Athamalik	Athamalik	Dhenkanal	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Ramacandi	Dhenknal, Bhimagiri	Dhenkanal	10th	Śākta (recent temple built on an earlier foundation)	Eight-armed mahiṣamardinī
Bhṛṅgeśvara Mahādeva	Kamakhyanagar,	Dhenkanal	09th-10th	Śaiva (7th)	
Svapneśvara group of temple	Parjanga, Kualo	Dhenkanal	09th	Śaiva (7th)	
Balangi	Kankadahad	Dhenkanal	09th-11th	—	Jaina
Paścimeśvara	Talcher	Dhenkanal	09th-11th	Śaiva (later)	Buddhist
Sāraṅga Sāraṅga	Parjaṅga block,	Dhenkanal	10th	———	Anantasāyin Viṣṇu
Tamul	Near Bhimgiri	Dhenkanal	10th-11th	Śākta (modern)	Eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā
Ganjam					
Dakhineśvara temple	Badagaon	Ganjam	09th	Śaiva	Varāha
Ganjam	Ganjam	Ganjam	09th-11th	Jaina	

3.5.5 *Dhenkanal*

In Dhenkanal district Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, which began in 7th century AD, continued in this period. However Buddhism appeared here in this period. While the Paścimeśvara temple preserves some Buddhist sculptures of 10th early 11th century

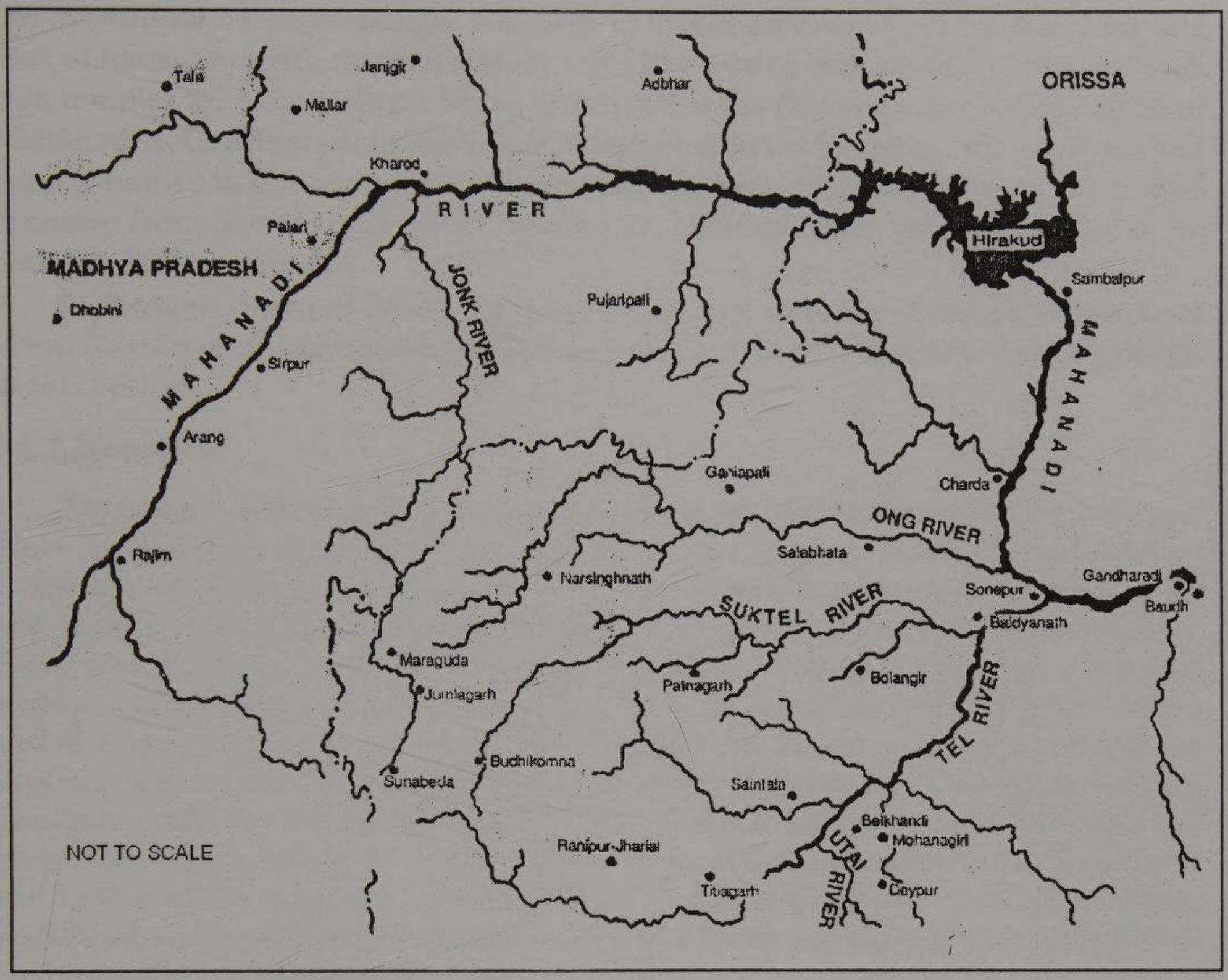
AD, the epigraphic reference suggests the presence of Buddhism in the Kodalaka *maṇḍala.* On the other hand, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism began to expand in the area. While the Bhṛṅgeśvara temple and Kanakeśvara temple continued in this period as well, new temples like the Paścimeśvara temple at Chasapada came up. Important to note is the scattered Vaiṣṇava presence here in Dhenkanal, the most noteworthy being the huge Anantasāyin Viṣṇu image (it is the largest image in Orissa) found from Sāraṅga. The image can be iconographically dated to 9th century AD. There are scattered Jaina presences in Dhenkanal district as well. Equally important to note is the presence of autochthonous cults from the epigraphic records of Sulkis, who claim themselves to be the worshippers of Stambheśvarī.[37]

In Keonjhar district, the concentration of religious establishment is in Anandpur plain. The pattern and distribution of religious sites indicate that the line of diffusion is from Bhadrak side rather than from the north, where Āsanapata, the 4th century AD Śaiva site is located.

Ganjam district, which has not been explored, has yielded hardly any archaeological materials to substantiate epigraphic sources of the period. While Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam and Mukhaliṅgaṃ and Jayati which form core of Kalinga of early medieval times preserve many temples of Viṣṇu and Śaiva, most notables of which are Madhukeśvara temple of Mukhaliṅgaṃ and Rāmeśvara temple at Gallavalli, there are not many in Ganjam district. The Mahendra mountain was considered to be a sacred mountain in the Purānic literature, and there are epigraphic records of the Eastern and Imperial Gaṅgās which refer to the their tutelary deity, Gokarṇeśvara on the Mahendra mountain.[38] At present there are three temples atop the Mahendra Mountain –Bhīma temple, Kuntī-Gokarṇeśvara and the Yudhiṣṭira temple – but no sculptural evidence of 9th -11th century AD came to light. On the other hand there are two inscriptions in Kuntī temple, one is on a slab to the right of the entrance and can be dated to 1123 AD. It records the gift of lamp to Mahendreśvara, indicating that there was a temple by this name in 12th century AD.

3.5.6 *Bolangir and Kalahandi Districts*

In Bolangir district Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism continued to expand in this period. In one way the district as a part of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, was influenced by what was happening in upper Mahānadī basin particularly in Sirpur, Malhar and Rajim, where Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were very dominant. Some scholars also argue for a distinct regional architectural style of Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Sebak 2004). Literary and epigraphic evidence records land grants to *brāhmaṇas* and some were even brought by the Somavaṁśīs from north India. However, there is also evidence of the autonomous trajectory of religions in this region. First of all, Buddhism and Jainism were almost absent here in this region, except perhaps at Ganiapalli in Melchamunda block of Samabalpur where image of Mucalinda Buddha (6th century AD) was found. This is in contrast to upper Mahānadī basin where we have evidence of Buddhist presence in Mallhar, Sirpur and in other places. Moreover, we have evidence of strong goddess traditions here in Bolangir and Kalahandi in comparison to upper Mahānadī valley.



MAP No. 5
SITES OF UPPER MAHANADI VALLEY

The Maraguda valley, which preserve a good deal of religious structures has not received adequate attention, but the available evidence from Mahala and other mounds indicate strong *Śākta* presence; same can be said of Ranipur Jharial where the hypetheral 64- *yoginī* temple was built in 9th century AD. Another trend was the idea of having two structures for Hara and Hari side by side on one platform. Such twin temples for Nīlamādhava Viṣṇu and Siddheśvara Śiva were built on the bank of Mahānadī at Gandharadi in undivided Bolangir district. However, the Vaiṣṇava and Saiva presence in the region was quite substantial here. Not many sites of the period is known from Samabalpur district except the Nṛsiṁhanātha temple, which can be dated to 10th century AD.

In Koraput district where we have the evidence of some of the early images of Viṣṇu Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavīsm continue to exist but there is also evidence of Jainism in this period.

3.5.7 *Discussion*

There was a distinct Buddhist cluster in Citrotpala-Kimiria-Birupa valley; however, there os evidence of the presence of Śaivism and Śaktism. Most of the Buddhist sculptures of this cluster belong to 10th century AD, thus indicating their coexistence with Śaivism, Śaktism and Vaiṣṇavism. Important Buddhist sites of this cluster include Fakirpatna, Rāmeśvara, Chandia, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Kolanagiri, Vajragiri and Langudi except one instance at Fakirpatna in Citrotpala evidence where Viṣṇu and Maheśvara are represented as attacking Buddha. However, there are not many sites where there is evidence of Buddhism, Śaivism, Śaktism and Vaiṣṇavism existing simultaneously, but the mean distance from one site to another is most probably not more than 10 km. While we tried to show the simultaneous existence of Buddhism and brāhmanical religions, it is important to understand the equation between Buddhism and brāhmanical religion on the one hand and among various Buddhist establishments on the other.

In Prācī valley Śaivism gained ground only after the decline of Buddhism. However, the Prācī valley right from Paramahaṁsa to Kakatpur preserves traces of Śaktism Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in this period.

Bhubaneswar emerged as a classical Śaiva *Kṣetra.* But there is also evidence of the simultaneous existence of Buddhism and Jainism. In fact most of the Buddhist remains are found between Bhaskareśvara and Brahmeśvara area.

Jajpur, on the other hand, presents a more complex pattern with the simultaneous existence of Buddhism, Śaktism, Śaivism and Jainism. Solampur-Khadipada were important Buddhist establishments here.

Further up in Balasore, we have numerous instances where all cults exist pell-mell. Ajodhyā, Sheragarh, Kaupar, Avana, etc. indicate a poly-religious environment. As we further move up in north and northeast direction to Mayurbhanj the preponderance of goddess traditions become imminent. There is a virtual absence of Buddhism in western and central Orissa, where we have the predominance of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and goddess tradition. The notable exception is the Anandpur plain, Anugul division of undivided Dhenkanal and Baudh, where we have

simultaneous existence of all cults. But the mean distance between one site and the other in undivided Dhenkanal is much more than what is found in undivided Cuttack district. Except in Bolangir where there is strong presence of Vaiṣṇavīsm in other areas we have evidence of the presence of Śaivism, Śaktism and other autochthonous traditions as in the case of Stambheśvarī.

In Puri district major concentration is in Prācī valley. There is steady increase in Vaiṣṇavism here but their dominance becomes evident only after 12th century AD. However, there are sites in the Prācī valley and other areas where there is evidence of many cults existing side by side. Kuruma and Achutarajpur belong to this category.

Buddhism is largely confined to Cuttack, Bhadrak, the Praci valley in Puri/ Cuttack district, the Daya valley in Khurda, region around Chillika Lake, Anandpur plain area of Keonjhar and two pockets (Khiching, Udala and Manatari belt) in Mayurbhanj, Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam districts. On the other hand brahmanical temples are more widespread.

This exhaustive cataloguing highlights the religious environment of Orissa in seven centuries from 5th to 12th centuries AD. In such an environment Buddhism expanded but it did by making some great innovations. The last chapter deals with some of the innovations it made to make religion more instrumental. The next section further elaborates the process of adaptation and change Buddhism was making to compete with Vaiṣṇavīsm, Śaivism and goddess tradition.

SECTION II

DOCUMENTING VERTICAL GROWTH OF BUDDHISM IN THE PERIOD

3 II.1: Documenting the Vertical Growth of Buddhism

The documentation of sites in the previous section tried to show the poly-religious landscape of Orissa between 7th to 12th centuries AD. An effort is made to document the expansion of various religions, including Buddhism. In many places Buddhism, Jainism and brāhmanical religions shared the same temporal-geographical space. While the previous section shows the horizontal spread of Buddhism and other religions, this section tried to document the vertical spread of Buddhism.

3 II. 2 Diversity in Buddhist Pantheon

One indicator of the vertical growth of Buddhism was the rich diversity in terms of the pantheon structure. Buddhism introduced numerous deities in its pantheon in order to make the religion more this worldly. These deities, as mentioned in Chapter 2, performed various instrumental roles and hence, were invoked and worshipped by people. The diversity in Buddhist pantheon reflects the attempt to extend the religion further by encouraging greater involvement of people in the form of worship of these instrumental deities, performing rituals, observing *vratas* and celebrating calendrical festivals of Buddhist divinities. The following table categorise these divinities according to their different forma and the places of their provenance, which indicate the spread of different cults.

3.II.2.1 Tārā

The *Śādhanamālā* and other texts refer to different forms of Tārā divided into five on the basis of their colour. The following diagram represents various forms of Tārā, which are described in the *Sādhanamālā.* Goddess Tārā was introduced quite late, only in 6th century AD and gained enormous popularity by 8th century AD (Ghosh 1980).[39] While Mahāśrī Tārā is a conflation of Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī, Siṁhanāda and Durgottarani Tārā are modelled on Durgā, who is called *durgatināṣini* (*Devī Mahātmya* IV (Agrawala 1963: 67). Tārā in her form of saviouress from perils first appeared in cave 9 of Ellora[40] Sarvajñanamitra wrote *Ārya-Tārā-śragdhara-stotra* in 8th century and the Candi Kalasan temple in Indonesia, dated 778 AD invokes the name of Tārā who delivers people from the world of infinite sorrows.[41] Śrī Harṣa, the author of the *Naiṣādhacarita* (7th-8th century AD) speaks of the custom of making a circle in camphor mixed with musk in the shrine of the goddess (*Naiṣadhacarita* 22. 136). Tārā cult was very popular in Orissa. Tārā is found in the niches of 99 monolithic *stūpa* of Ratnagiri. Though the *Sādhanamālā* describes many forms of Tārā, the classical Tārā *mantra Tare Tuttare Ture svaha* is only for 11 is reserved. In Orissa all these forms are found except Mṛtyuvacana Tārā and Vasyādhikara Tārā. On the other hand we have evidence of Caturbhuja Sītā Tārā.

Table 3.10: Tārā and her **Different forms in Orissa**

	Different forms of Tārā	*Place*
1.	Tārā in *lalitāsana, varada mudrā*	Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Achutarajpur, Solampur, and other places (129)
2.	Standing Tārā	Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Solampur, etc. (10)
3.	Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā[42]	Sheragarh (1), Ratnagiri (2)– 3
4.	Siṁhanāḍa Tārā	Ratnagiri (3), Sheragarh (1), Bhubaneswar (1),[43] —(5)
5.	Khadiravāṇī Tārā	Jaraka (2), Tikiria Temple in Banpur Achutarajpur[44], Ratnagiri, Baneswarnasi, Choudwar, Sundargram—(9)
6.	Mahattarī Tārā	Ratnagiri (2), Achutarajpur, Tiadisahi, Baudh, —(6)
7.	Mahāsrī Tārā	Bhubaneswar- (1)
8.	Dhanada Tārā	Kapileśvara Temple in Bhubaneswar, Varāha temple Jajpur[45], brought from Solampur, Baseli Thakurani at Bania Sahi in Cuttack, Kapila Prasad 1 – (4)
9.	Four-armed Sīta Tārā	Solampur – 1
10.	Four-armed Durgottarāṇī Tārā	Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri (2)
11.	Vajra Tārā[46]	Ajodhyā, Ratnagiri (2)
12.	Cintāmaṇi Tārā	Nagaspur, Adaspur-2
	Total -12	178

3.II.2.2. Avalokiteśvara

"Avalokiteśvara was the most popular *bodhisattva* in the Buddhist pantheon and his position in Buddhist countries is next to Buddhas. One of the reasons for his popularity is his infinite *karuṇā* and one passage of the *Karaṇḍavyuhya* characterises him as taking the shape of all gods of all religions..."(Bhattacharya 1968: 124). He is the ruling divinity during the present *kalpa* (*bhadra kalpa*), which started with the

Mahāparinivāṇṇa of Gautama and will continue till the advent of Maitreya. Right from the fifteen forms in the *Sādhanamālā,* Avalokiteśvara's forms multiplied through centuries. In 18th century paintings in Machandar Vahal in Nepal, his 108 forms are illustrated (Lokesh Chandra 1981). In Ratnagiri monolithic *stūpa* he is the second most popular divinity after Tārā represented in the niches of 42 monolithic *stūpa.* The scriptural justification for his numerous forms was one strategy to absorb elements of other cults. In Nepal Karunamaya Matsyendranāth's is identified with Kṛṣṇa. Avalokiteśvara is also identified with Śiva. Avalokita shares with Śiva the epithets *iśvara, maheśvara* and Lokeśvara. Śiva was worshipped as a bodhisattva and as a form of Avalokiteśvara (Thomas 1933:193).[47]

Various forms of Avalokiteśvara can be conceptualised as a strategy of adaptation of elements of other cults. While Amoghapāśa, Sugatisandarśana, Nīlakaṇṭha are modelled on Śiva, Halāhaḷa Lokeśvara closely resembles Umā-Maheśvara. On the other hand, Viṣṇu Lokeśvara is a conflation of Viṣṇu and Lokeśvara; Saṅkhanātha Avalokita has striking similarity with another form of Viṣṇu.

Table 3.11: Forms of Avalokiteśvara

1.	Cintamaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara[48]	Ajodhyā, Ratnagiri, Siddheśvara Temple – 3
2.	Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara	Khutia temple, Ajodhyā [49] 1–, Bhubaneswar (OSM), Ratnagiri, 3
3.	Khasarpana Lokeśvara	In different places –17 Achutarajpur, Balasore, Bhainchua, Baneswarnasi, Ranibandha, Mudupur, etc.
4.	Lokanātha	Udayagiri (3), Jajpur, Kapila, Solampur, Bhubaneswar, Rāmeśvara in Baudh, Lalitgiri – 9
5.	Harihara (?) Lokeśvara/ Avalokita in *Dharmacakra-mudrā*	Kolanagiri, Balasore, Choudwar – 4
6.	Vajradharma/ Rakta Lokeśvara[50]	Siddheśvara Temple in Jajpur, Ratnagiri, Achutarajpur, Aragarh –
7.	Sadākṣarī	Ratnagiri – 2
8.	Jaṭāmukuṭa	In different places -38
9.	*Sankhanātha*	Baudh, Udayagiri now in San Francisco Museum, Mudgala (1) –4
10.	Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara	Solampur, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri (4) –6
11.	Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara	Udayagiri (Patna Museum), Cuttack, Dharmasala – 3
12.	Halāhala Lokeśvara	Achutarajpur, Megheśvara Temple[51] in Bhubaneswar –2
13.	Standing Lokeśvara and Seating Lokeśvara in conventional mode	In different places –37
14.	Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara	Siddheśvara temple at Jajpur – 1
15.	Siṁhanātha Avalokiteśvara	Baneswarnasi 1
Total 14		130

3.II.2.3 Forms of Mañjūśrī

Mañjūśrī is the Buddhist god of wisdom and knowledge, and hence is represented in sculpture holding a sword and *Prajñāparamitā* book. The sword, called *prajñākhaḍga* in some *sādhanas,* invariably in his right hand, is intended to cut asunder all ignorance, while the book, in his left hand, is the means of attaining transcendental wisdom. As *bodhisattva* of wisdom he is some times identified with ultimate substance *dharmadhātu.* In fact it is to one of the forms of Mañjūśrī, Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara that the most

common sacred object after *caitya, i.e dharmadhātu* is dedicated in Nepal. Sylvain Lēvi in the context of Nepal records that *dharmadhātu* is dedicated to Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjūśrī and if a *vajra* is kept on the top, it is called Vajradhātu, which is dedicated to Vairocana. (Lēvi 195 II: 19). Thus Mañjūśrī, particularly *dharma* variety is always identified with ultimate essence. The Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī refers to *Dharmadhātuvagīśvara maṇḍala.* Dharmaśaṅkhasamādhi Mañjūśrī of Ratnagiri corresponds iconographically to Vajrarāga Mañjūśrī or Vairocana, according to the traditions of Amoghavajra (who took *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* to China) and the Tibetan version of *Mahāvariocanasambodhi* (Wayman and Tjjima 1992: 37). Mallman and following her Van kooji observe that some sort of unification took place between Mañjūśrī and Vairocana and other Buddhas (Mallman 1975).The *Sādhanamālā* describes 13 forms of Mañjūśrī.

Table 3.12 : Forms of Mañjūśrī

1.	Siddhaikavīra	Ratnagiri (bronze) –1
2.	Dharmaśaṅkha samādhi	Ratnagiri – 3
3.	Dharmadhātuvagīśvara	Aragarh –1
4.	Arapacana Mañjūśrī	Ratnagiri 2, Achutarajpur 1, Kusinga 1, Khiching (Baripada Museum) 1 – 5
5.	Mañjuvajra	Amarprasadgarh[52] –1
6.	Mañjuvara	Ratnagiri (5), Khiching (3), Nagaspur (1), Vajragiri (1), Kalyanpur (1) – 11
7.	Mañjughoṣa	Ratnagiri monolithic *stūpa* –1
8.	Mahārājalilā Mañjūśrī	Ratnagiri (3), OSM (1), Paścimeśvara Śiva temple in Talcher (1) –5
9.	Vajrarāga	On the back slab of Akṣobhya and Amitābha image at SDO- compound Museum –2
10.	Two-armed with book on utpala and *varada mudrā* (non-textual) – both standing and seating	Ratnagiri monolithic *stūpa* – 29, other images at Ratnagiri –12, Lalitgiri –1, Brahmavana –1, Vajragiri (OSM) –1, Udayagiri – as attendant deity in various *maṇḍalas* as well as the central image in the rock-cut Mañjūśrī *maṇḍalas* –8, Solampur –2, Dihakula –1, Achutarajpur –3 – 58
	Total 10	88

Table 3.13 : Cult of Eight Bodhisattvas* and other Bodhisattvas

1.	Samantabhadra	Lalitgiri (I) 3, Udayagiri-6, Solampur (s)1, Ratnagiri(s) 3 – 13
2.	Maitreya	Ratnagiri(s &i) 4, Udayagiri 7 (s), Lalitgiri 4 (i), Achutarajpur (i)2, Solampur(s) 1 Khiching (s)1, Baud 1 – 20
3.	Lokeśvara	In many places
4.	Kṣitigarbha	Lalitgiri (i&ii) 2, Ratnagiri (s) 3, Udayagiri(s) 7, Achutarajpur (I) 1, Solampur (s) 1 Khiching (s) 1– 15
5.	Vajrapāṇi	Ratnagiri (s&i) 4, Vajragiri (i) 1, Lalitgiri (i) 1, Achutarajpur (i) 1, Solampur(s) 1, Udayagiri (s) 5, Khiching (s)
6.	Ākāśagarbha	Lalitgiri (i) 2, and at other places under Vajrapani section
7.	Mañjūśrī	In many places
8.	Sarvanivaranaviṣkakambhin	Lalitgiri (i &s) 2, Ratnagiri 3 Udayagiri (s)8
	Other Bodhisattvas	
9.	Candraprabhā	Lalitgiri 1

* The Bodhisattvas either surround a *Tathāgata* image on the backslab or exist independently and mentioned as 's' or 'i' respectively.

It is to be noted that independent, freestanding Bodhisattvas as part of a *maṇḍala* is found exclusively at Lalitgiri. Given the size of these *bodhisattvas* as one can surmise the extensiveness of *Tathāgata maṇḍala* in Lalitgiri, of which Donaldson has identified five.

3.II.2.4 Pañca Buddha and their Emanations in Orissa

3.II.2.4 (a) *Akṣobhya*

In the absence of elephant or *vajra* symbols by which Akṣobhya is identified, the recognition is mainly made on the basis of the absence or presence of attendant Bodhisattvas and specific *mudrā*, in Akṣobhya's case it is the earth-touching (*bhūmisparśamudrā*). His image is found in many places but the largest is found in Udayagiri where there are at least four *Akṣobhya maṇḍalas*. The following table represents his emanation.

Table 3.14: Emanation of Akṣobhya

GODS	*PLACES*	*GODDESSES*	*PLACES*
Candrosaṇa	Ratnagiri	Mahācina Tārā	—
Heruka	Ratnagiri, Achutarajpur, Choudwar Kuruma		
Hayagrīva	As attendant of Lokanātha he is found all over Orissa	Jaṇguli	Haripur, Kuruma
Kṛṣṇayamāri	Ersama, Ratnagiri (as an attendant of Avalokita)	Parṇasabari	Ratnagiri
Jambhala	In Numerous places	Vasudhārā	Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Dharmasala, Lalitgiri
Trailokyavijaya	Achutarajpur, Ratnagiri	Nairātmā	Trivienisvara temple, Tiruna
Sambara	Ratnagiri		

3.II.2.4 (b) Amoghasiddhi

The following table represents gods and goddesses of Amoghasiddhi family.

Table 3.15: Emanation of Amoghasiddhi

	GODDESSES	*PLACES*
	Khadirāvaṇī Tārā	See different forms of Tārā
	Sita Tārā	
	Dhanada Tārā	
	Parṇasabarī	Ratnagiri, Dharmasala and Udayagiri
	Mahāmayūrī	Kosangarh, Badasahi, Ratnagiri

* Vajrāmṛta is the sole god in Amoghasiddhi family, and is not found in Orissa.

3.II.2.4 (c) Amitābha Family

Similarly, the following gods and goddesses of Amitābha family are found in Orissa. The *Sādhanamālā* refers to Mahabala and Saptasatikā. I have not come across

any image of Saptasatika Hayagrīva, who is described as holding *vajra* and *daṇḍa* in his two hands and has a horse face. At Lalitgiri I found an image of Hayagrīva having horse face but his two other cognisance are absent. On the other hand, Hayagriva in *vandanāvinayī-mudrā* is found in Khasarpana and Jatāmukuta Lokeśvara images of Orissa. Mahābala also figures as an attendant deity on Jatāmukuta Lokeśvara image. Among the goddesses, different varieties of Kurukulla and Bhṛkuṭī are found in Orissa. On the other hand, I have not come across any Mahāsitavatī image.

Kurukulla: There are three different forms of Kurukulla, namely *Śuklā*, Uḍḍiyanā and Tarodbhava Kurukulla. The second one suggests the popularity of the god in Uḍḍiyana. Tarodbhava Kurukulla variety is found at Ratnagiri II monastery area, Udayagiri rock-cut image, *Candana Maṇḍapa* in Kakatpur, now worshipped as goddess Nārāyani. Uḍḍiyana Kurukulla is found from Achutarajpur bronze hoard. On the other hand Bhrkuti is found as attendant deity in Jaṭāmukuṭa and Khasarpana Lokeśvara images of Orissa and also occur independently.

3.II.2.4 (d) Emanation of Vairocana

While Vairocana image is found in many places including at Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, his *prajñā* Locana is discovered from Ratnagiri, Gardeipancana and possibly a three-headed Devi image near the Raghunātha temple at Solampur. The three-headed Devī holds a lotus on her left and a sword on her right. Vairocana's male emanations, Namasangiti is not found in Orissa. Out of eight goddesses of Vairocana family, six are found from Orissa. They are Mārīcī, Uṣṇisavijayā, Sītāpatra Aparājitā, Vajravarāhī and Cundā.

The Buddhist counterpart of Sūrya is found all over Orissa attesting to the popularity of the goddess in Orissa. Aśokakāntā Mārici is found from the bronze hoard of Achutarajpur, Ratnagiri and many other places. Eight-handed standing Mārīcī, called Mārīcīvupa, who is without any companion, is found from numerous places. Also found are eight-armed standing Mārīcī with companion called Saṁkṣipta Mārīcī and Uḍḍiyāna Mārīcī from Mārīcīpur and Odosingoda in Jajpur district.

Table 3.16: Emanation of Vairocana

Goddess	*Place*
Mārīcī	In many places
Uṣṇisavijayā	Ratnagiri
Vajravarāhī	Choudwar, Baseli Thakurani, Badagaon
Cuṇḍā	Ratnagiri, OSM, Udayagiri, now in Patna Museum, Achutarajpur and other places
Aparājitā	Lalitgiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri

While Jambhala and Ucchuṣma Jambhala belong to Ratnasambhava family, Vajra Tārā, Vajrayoginī, Vasudhārā, Mahāpratisarā and Prasanna Tārā belong to Ratneśa family. Aparājitā image is found from Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri but in no image is she trampling on Gaṇeśa as is enjoined in the text. . On the other hand in

Orissan images, she is represented trampling on an elephant (Ch 5). Vasudhārā images with ear of corns are found in many places (Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, etc.)

3.II.2.5. Images Associated with Great Events of Buddha

While Buddha images of different postures are found all over Orissa, there are only few images, which depict the life of Buddha. Most important from iconographic point of view is the eight-*mahāpratihārya* image from Solampur now affixed to the back wall of the Raghunātha temple. Descent of Buddha from Lalitgiri, Brahmā and Indra as parasol bearers of Buddha from Udayagiri, Mucalinda image from Lalitgiri, Ganiapalli and G. Udayagiri (OSM) are other sculptures which deal with Gautama' life.

Fig 3.6 : Buddha in bhumisparsamudrā depicting the eight mahāpratihārya (eight great miracles) of Gautama's life. (Solampur 10th century AD)

3.II.3 Longitudinal Studies of Selective Sites

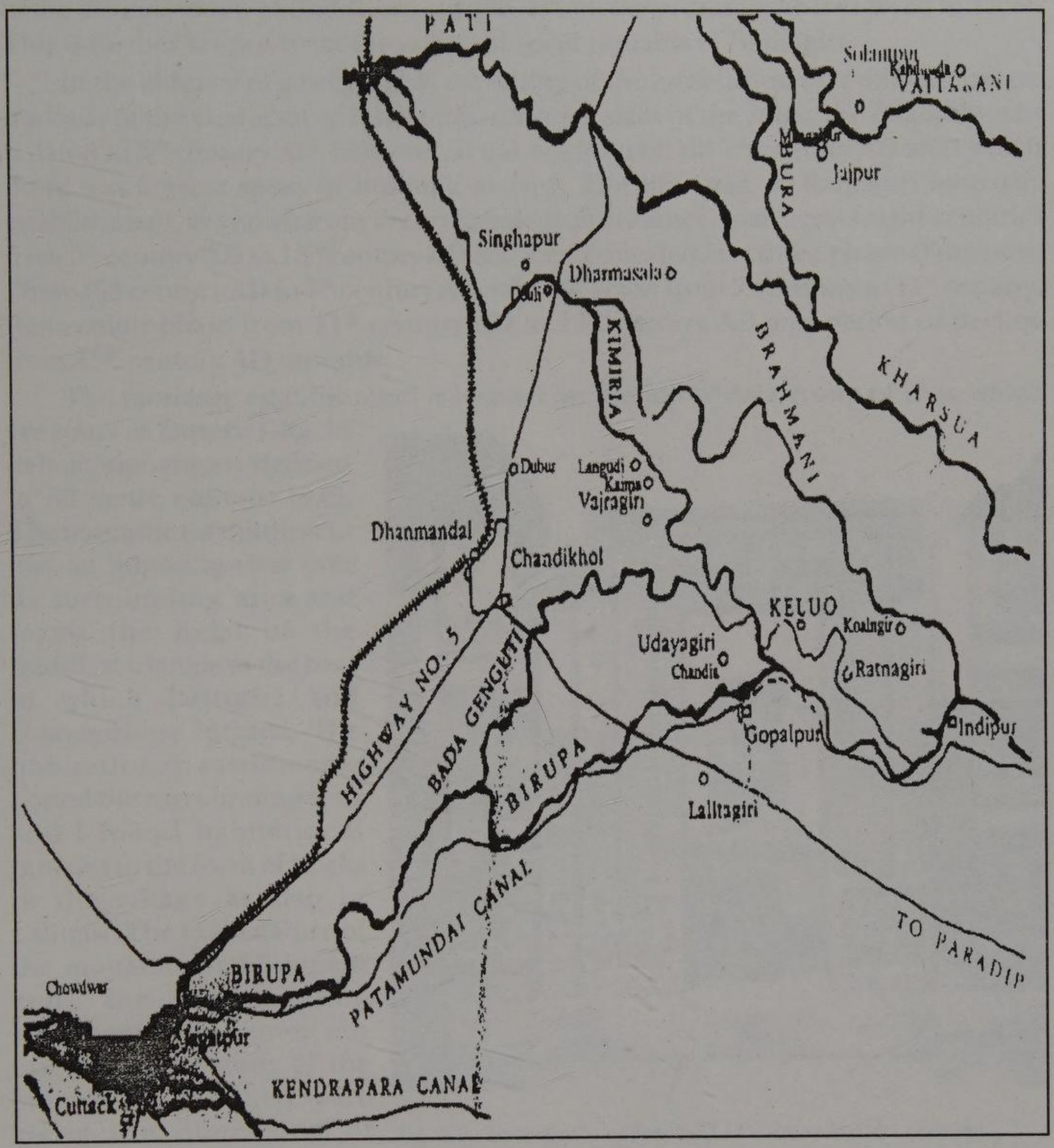
3 II. 3.1. Ratnagiri

In terms of size, historical prominence and large number of archaeological artefacts, Ratnagiri was the most important Buddhist establishment in Orissa. Excavations have revealed a huge monastic establishment, which in the past was also known as Ratnagiri-mahāvihāra. It was not the earliest Buddhist establishment, but from the textual account in Tibetan and other sources as well from the presence of numerous votive *stūpa* donations, Ratnagiri was one of the important sites in the Buddhist circuit of ancient times. In terms of votive *stūpa* presence, which is an archaeological barometer of pilgrim flow, Ratnagiri could rival the holiest of the Buddhist site, Bodh Gayā.

The nucleus of the Buddhist establishment of Ratnagiri can be dated to 5th century AD or still earlier, but it began to flourish from 8th century AD till 13th century AD when the site declined. Tārānatha's account also corroborates this date of the foundation in Gupta times: "Now, near the coast of the ocean, on the top of a hill in the country of Odivisa in the east, king Buddhapakṣa, in the later part of his life, built a temple called Ratnagiri (*rin-chen-ri-bo*)." (Tārānatha: 144).

According to Tārānatha *ācārya* Pito brought *Kālacakra Tantra* to Sambhala and other texts, which he taught at Ratnagiri-*mahāvihāra* (Sahu 1958: 148). On the other hand the *Blue Annals* credits Cheluka, who read *Kālacakra Tantra* at Ratnagiri-*mahāvihāra,* of introducing the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Sambhala (Roerich 1949, 1953, II: 755). Cheluka's association with Ratnagiri monastery was also highlighted by other Tibetan texts as well (Mitra 1978:18).

These reference to Ratnagiri attests the importance of the monastic establishment



MAP No. 6
RATNAGIRI & SURROUNDING SITES

in the dissemination of Buddhism outside, as well the prominence it enjoyed in Tibet. This is further known from the archaeological remains of Ratnagiri.

In the absence of stratigraphy, the dating of the establishment is difficult but on the basis of the character of inscription on stone slabs of the *stūpa*, the establishment is dated to 5th century AD. However, it did not flourish till 7th century AD after which there was a great spurt in building activity. The life span of Ratnagiri monastic establishment, as known from the archaeological evidence, span across eight centuries from 5th century AD to 13th century AD and can be divided into three phases: Formative Phase (5th century AD to 7th century AD, take-off phase from 7th century to 11th century, Renovation phase from 11th century AD to 13th century AD and period of decline from 13th century AD onwards.

The monastic establishment is located on the top of Asia group of hills, which are spurs of Eastern Ghat in deltaic topography defined by 50 metre contour level. The monastic establishment had an imposing view over its surrounding area and forms the head of the Buddhist triangle at the base of which Lalitgiri and Udayagiri are located. The habitational settlements dotted the surrounding area and I found habitational remains in the form of bricks in the village as also in Lalitgiri. The exact nature of the monastic establishment and the surrounding settlement is not known; nor can a detailed study of the organisation of sacred space along the dimension of public-private is studied. The

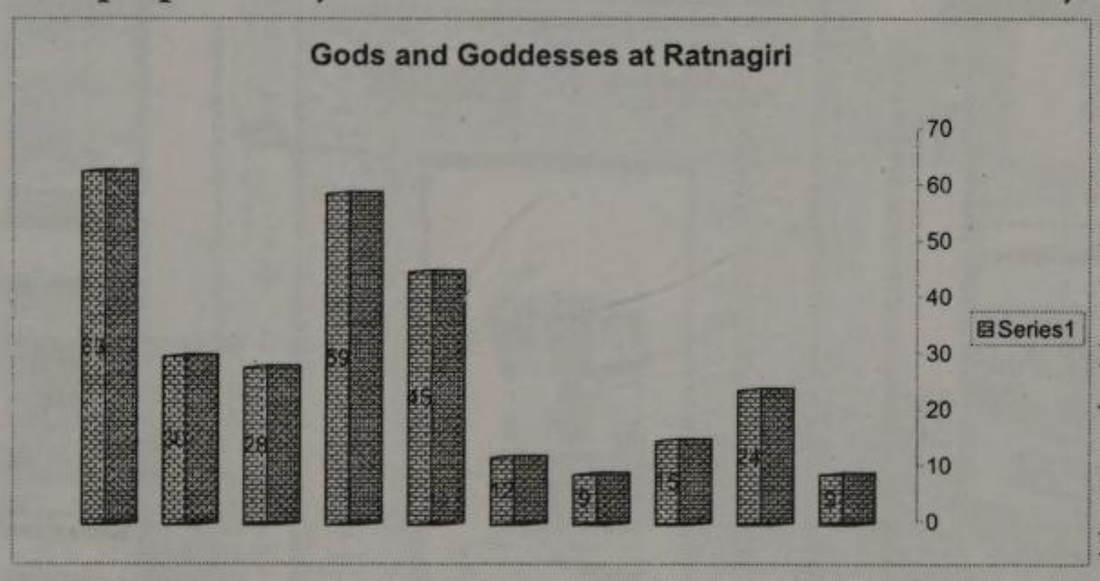
Fig. 3.7 : Door Frame of Ratnagiri Monastery 1 (8th-9th century)

plan of the stūpa area reveals a quadrilateral enclosure wall that was built in Period II, dated to 10-11th century AD. Remained buried under it are many small monolithic *stūpa*, suggesting per-haps that the enclosure wall was built to protect the *stūpa* area which underwent a period of modification and pro-tect them from pil-grims. Earlier pilgrims had access to *stūpa* area and the buried *stūpa* under the enclosure wall suggest so. How-ever, the enclosure wall was erected to restrict public access to the main *stūpa* in Period II. In fact it is important to note that the majority of the monolithic *stūpa* are found only to the south-west of the main *stūpa* suggesting that the dedication of the votive *stūpa* were made not near the *mahāstūpa* but further southwest.

Monastery 1 and 2 were built in about 7th century AD. The *mahāstūpa* area underwent restoration in about 10th-11th century AD when the upper part of the *stūpa* and top edges of the platform of Period 1 had collapsed and the lower portion of the platform had been engulfed by a thick shroud of debris. The *stūpa* underwent extensive restoration which entirely changed its plan: "in stead of a polygonal base, it now assumed a circular plan from its bottom." By 12th-13th century AD, the building activity suffered a great decline but the site continued to exist till Mukundadeva, in 16th century AD, who is credited by Tārānātha to have established in Odivisa "the temple for the insiders and also a number of smaller centres for the doctrine. Thus, the Law spreads a little." (Tārānatha: 321).

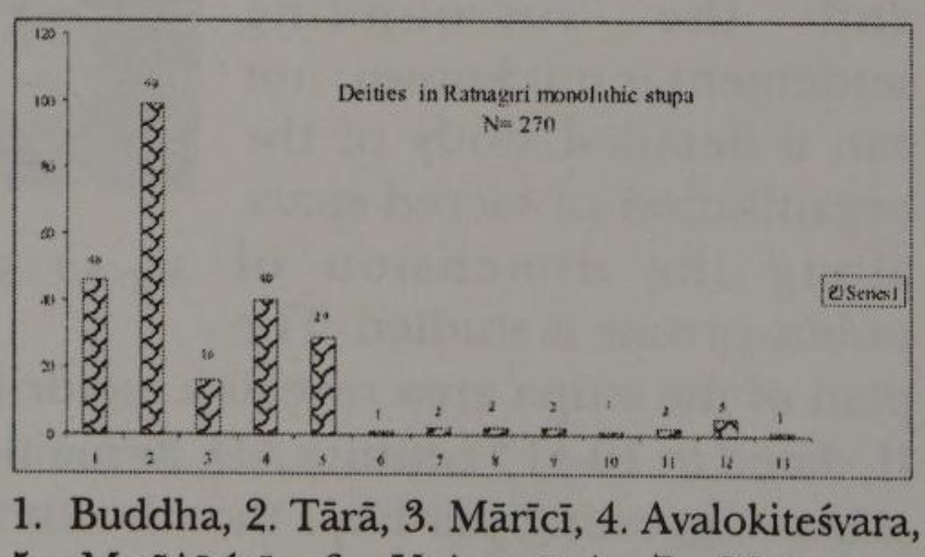
The monastery1, built in Catuhsālā style, is to north of the main *stūpa.* So far as plan, embellishment and symmetry are concerned, it is "the finest structure so far unearthed in India." It is to be noted that the beautiful facade of the monastery's shrine belongs to Pd. II.

In terms of the pantheon structure, Ratnagiri preserves a rich variety, indicating the popularity of numerous cults. Particularly interesting are the images on drum-slab and niches of small- and votive *stūpa* indicating the popularity of different Buddhist gods and goddesses. These two diagrams represent the number of deities found on votive *stūpa* to the south-west corner of *stūpa* I and no, as well as various rounded free standing found in Ratnagiri:



1. Buddha, 2. Dhyāni Buddha, 3. Mañjūśrī, 4. Tārā, 5. Avalokiteśvara, 6. Mārīcī, 7. Vajrasattva, 8. Jambhala, 9. Other deities, 24 (Heruka 3, Mahāmayūri 1, Kṛṣṇayamari 2, Sambara 1, Hayagriva 1, Aparājita 1, Vasudhārā 4, Maitreya Cunda 3, Hariti 1, Ārya-Sarasvatī 2 and Uṣṇisavijaya 1) .

An important indicator of cult popularity at Ratnagiri is votive *stūpa*, which were donated by the pilgrims, who visited this sacred site and left their cult preference in the form of votive *stūpa* with figures of gods and goddesses in the niches. The following diagram represents various gods and goddesses as found in the niches of monolithic *stūpa* found to the south-west of the main *stūpa*:



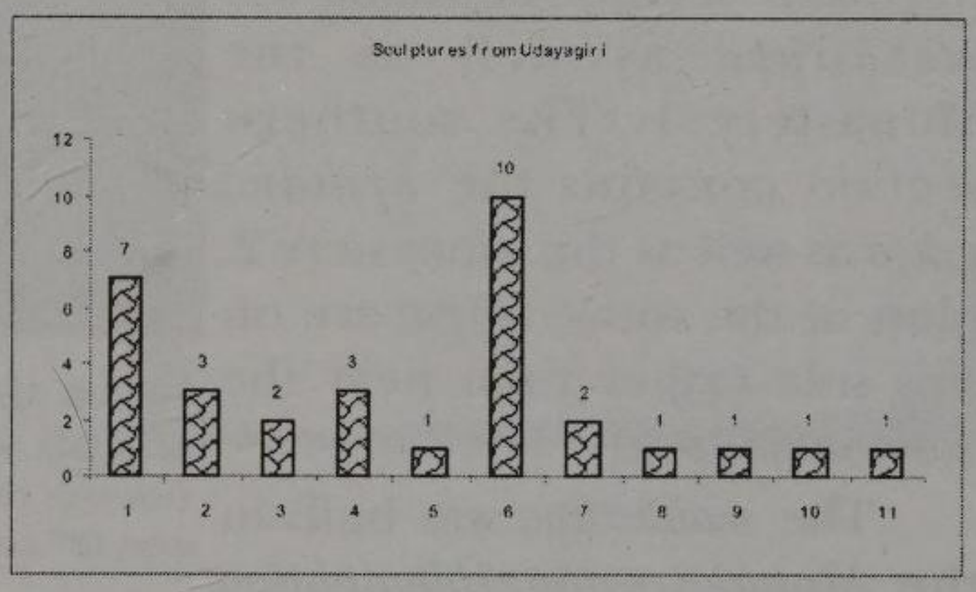
1. Buddha, 2. Tārā, 3. Mārīcī, 4. Avalokiteśvara, 5. Mañjūśrī, 6. Vajrapāṇi, 7. Maitreya, 8. Vasudhārā, 9. Heruka, 10. Ekajaṭā, 11. Kurukulla, 12. Cuṇḍā, and 13. Ārya-Sarasvatī.

3 II. 3.2. Lalitgiri's Candrāditya Mahāvihāra

With its nucleus going back to 3rd-2nd century BC, Lalitgiri's Candrāditya *Mahāvihāra* was the oldest and biggest establishment in Orissa (Dhaulī and Langudi

belong to the same period). The excavation reveals a *mahāstūpa*, an apsidal *caityagṛhya*, four *vihāras* (Monastery I being two storied), numerous minor structural *stūpa* near the *caityagṛhya* and a number of votive *stūpa*. The monastic establishment was on the Landa hill and on the opposite across the village is the Parabhadi hill, where I found a stone *stūpa* and rock-cut *Dhyāni* Buddha image. There were other images which were now shifted to the Site Museum.

Apart from the Buddhist establishment on the Landa hill, bricks of 9th-10th century AD are found from the village suggesting the presence of habitation settlements close to the monastic residents of Candrāditya *Mahāvihāra*. In terms of sculptural remains, Lalitgiri preserves some of the oldest Buddhist sculptures, including numerous varieties of freestanding *bodhisattvas* forming *maṇḍala* around a *Tathāgata* Buddha. The chart represents different sculptures in Lalitgiri site museum. Other sculptures at Bhubaneswar branch of the Archaeological Survey of India could not be examined.[53]



1. Buddha in different postures (19) (excluding those in the niches of monolithic stūpa), 2. Akṣobhya (2), 3. Amitābha (1), 4. Abhisambodhi Vairocana (1), 5.Tārā (5), 6. Avalokiteś-vara (3), 7. Samanta-bhadra (2), 8. Maitreya (2), 9. Akasa-garbha (3), 10.Vajrapāni (3), 11. Mañ-jūśrī (4), 12. Sarvanivaranaviṣkhambin (2), 13. Candraprabhā 1, 14. Hayagriva (1) 15. Aparājita (2). 16. Mārīcā (1) 17. Vasudhārā 1

Lalitgiri was one of the earliest Buddhist establishments of Orissa, the nucleus of which goes back to 2nd century BC. The *brāhmī* inscription on the pavement of *caityagṛhya* can be palaeographically dated to 1st century BC. The two earliest structures of Lalitgiri are the *mahāstūpa* and the *caityagṛhya*. The *brāhmī* inscription on stone pavement, east of caityagrhya, Lalitgiri, dated to 2nd century AD recorded the completion (*saṁvita*) of a seat by Vinaya, a resident of Vadhamāna, Vinayadhārā and his disciple Buddhitini (a nun), a resident of Aggotisila. Further, a fragmentary sherds of dull red ware with inscription of five letters in *brāhmī* (palaeographically dated to 1st century BC) attests the early date of the *caityagṛhya* (*IAR* 1987-88: 88). The *mahāstūpa*, to northwest of the *caitya* was made of random rubbles and mud mortar and veneered with sand stone astylar masonry. The *stūpa* contains a relic casket in Chinese puzzle box style, reminiscent of relic casket excavated at Taxila by Marshall.

Around the same time as the *caityagṛha*, the monastery 3 was built. The structural activities encountered here point out at least three phases, the lowest layer – layer no 4 – yielded BRW, black-slipped ware, etc. (*IAR* 1991-92: 84-86). It saw subsequent addition in 7th century AD. Further the earliest sculptures of Lalitgiri belong to 5th century AD, including the image of Abhisambodhi Vairocana. Layer-3 yielded Gupta moulded pottery. A boundary wall along northwest and southeast was added. In the fag end of this phase Lalitgiri saw great sculptural activity; especially many images of Buddha belong to this phase. The next phase from 7th-9th phase saw greatest activity

with free standing *Bodhisattvas* and other images added. The last phases from 10th-13th centuries AD are devoid of any activity.

3 II. 3.3 : Udayagiri Mādhavapura Mahāvihāra

Udayagiri's Mādhavapura mahāvihārā was one of three largest monastic complexes of Orissa – the other three being Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri – all three are in the Assia groups of hills, which surround the Buddhist establishment on three sides and the entrance is from the east near by of which flows the Birupa river. The horseshoe-shaped valley is bisected vertically into northern and southern sections. The northern section contains the *mahāstūpa* as well as the Monastery 1. The southern section contains the *upāsanā gṛhya* as well as the monastery 2. Most of the votive *stūpas* are on this side rather than near the *mahāstūpa* area.

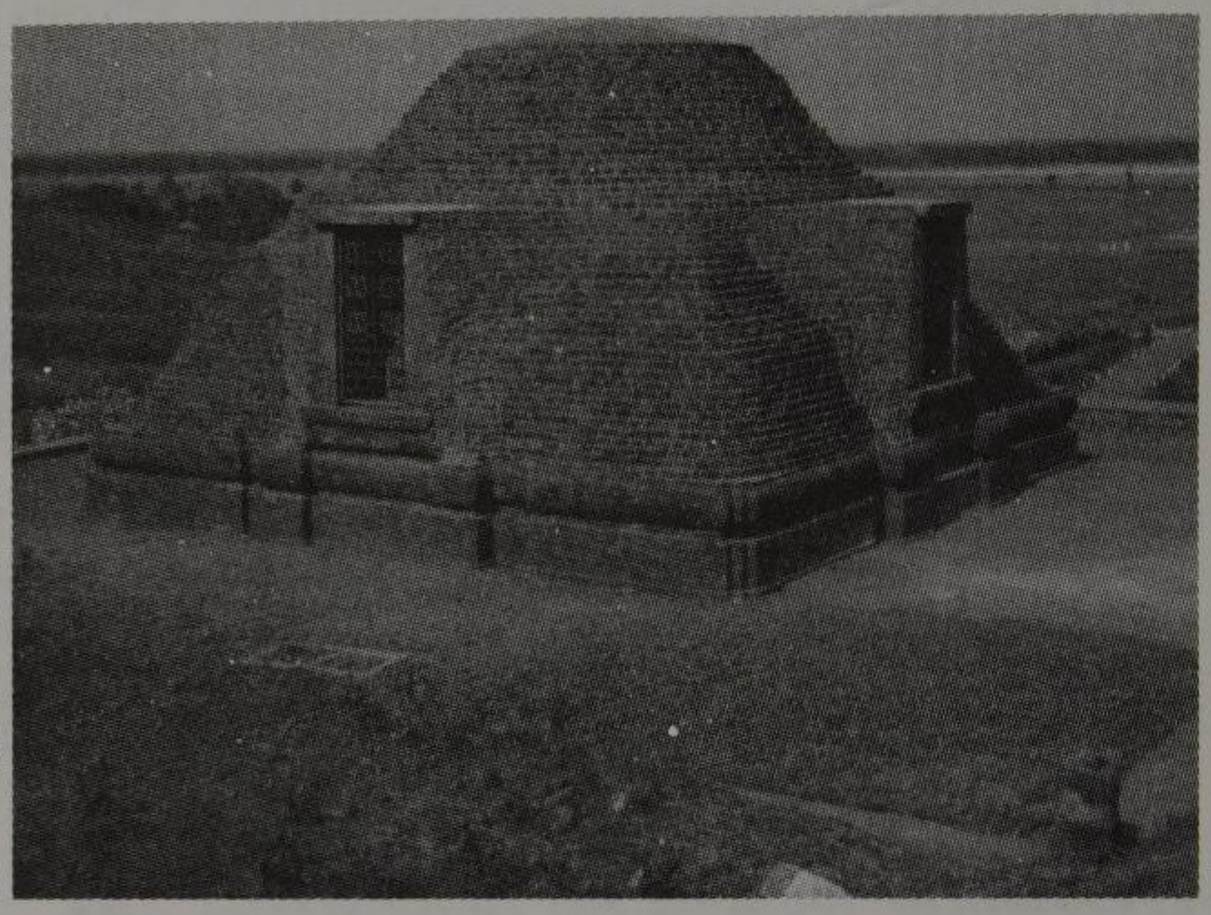


Fig.3.8 Mādhavapura *mahāvihāra's Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhāva* maṇḍala with Vairocana on the north, Akṣobhya on the east (towards river), Ratnasambhava on the south and Amitābha on the west (8th century AD)

The *mahāstūpa* was built in the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava maṇḍala* (see section on *maṇḍala*) with four Dhyāni Buddhas in four cardinal directions between *Mahāstūpa* and the Monastery 11 were circular pavements on both sides of the of the pathway measuring 41. 40 sq. m and 47 sq. m. This might be for congregational purpose. There are at lest two stūpas near the *Mahāstūpa* area. The *mahastūpa* and the monastery 1 were founded around 7th century AD. The monastery underwent four phases of construction between 7th to 12th centuries AD (Nigam 2000: 495-506).

On the northwest direction across the monastery lie the rock-cut images of Avalokiteśvara, Kurukulla and others with inscriptions of Sugata and Simyaka inscribed on some images (See donation to Buddhist establishments in Chapter 5).

On the southern side across the ridge is located another two-storied monastery facing in the direction of *mahāstūpa.* To the right of the main entrance lies cell 13, which contains the secret cella. The main secret cell, which can be entered through cell 13, appears to be a secret sanctum chamber with niches and a brick platform for rituals. To its west lies the *upasanāgṛhya,* near which stands the half-buried Jatāmukuṭa Lokeśvara. The backslab of the image is inscribed by a long inscription of twenty-five lines, which states that the *tathāgathādhisthita dhātugarbha stūpa* (a *stūpa* with a relic inside and dwelt in by the *Tathāgata*) was set up on that very spot. It invokes the name of Tārā and Padmasambhava (who introduced Buddhism in Tibet) (Sahu 1958: 146).

FIG. 3.1. DIFFERENT FORMS OF TĀRĀ

A
Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā, Ratnagiri
(9th century)

B
Durgottāriṇī Tārā, Ratnagiri
(10th century)

C
Khadiravani Tārā, Choudwar
(10th century)

D
Vajra Tārā, Ajodhyā
(10th-11th century)

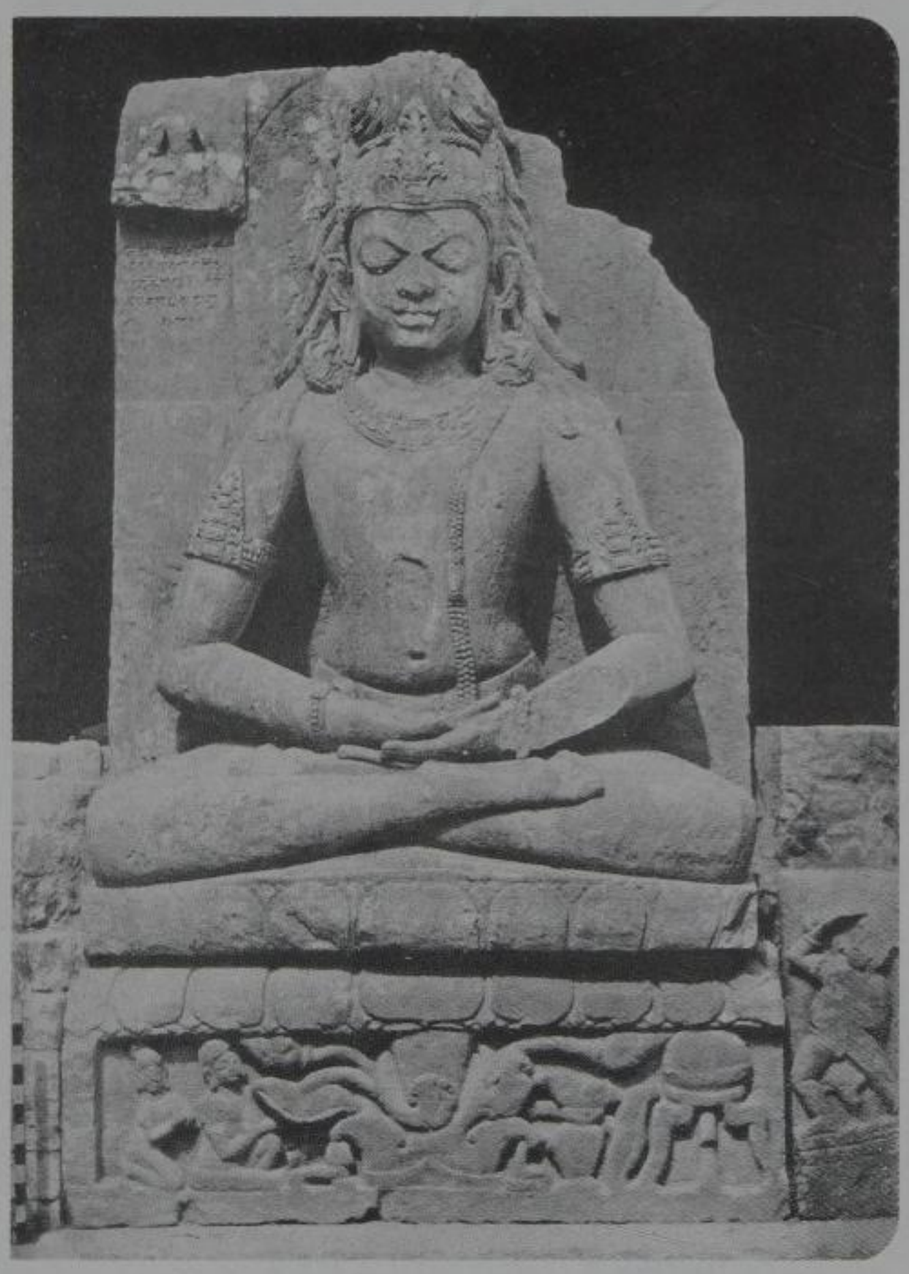
E
Sītā Tārā, Solampur
(10th century)

FIG. 3.2. DIFFERENT FORMS OF AVALOKITEŚVARA

A
Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, Ratnagiri
(8th-9th century)

B
Halāhala Lokeśvara,
Megheśvara Temple, Bhubneswar
(11th century)

D
Manjuvajra,
Khiching Museum
(10th century)



E
Dharmaśaṅkha Samādhi Manjuśrī,
Ratnagiri
(8th century)

F
Arapacana Manjuśrī, Ratnagiri
(8th century)

FIG. 3.4 VAIROCANA & HIS FAMILY

A
Vairocana Surrounded by Four
Bodhisattvas, Ratnagiri
(9th century)

B
Usnisavijaya, Ratnagiri
(10th century)

C
Maricivupa, Baripada Museum
(9th century)

D
Vajravārāhī, Badagaon, Balasore
(10th century)

F
Six-armed Cuṇḍa (in bronze)
Achutarajpur
(9th-10th century)

E
Aprājitā, Trampling Elephant, Lalitgiri
(8th century)

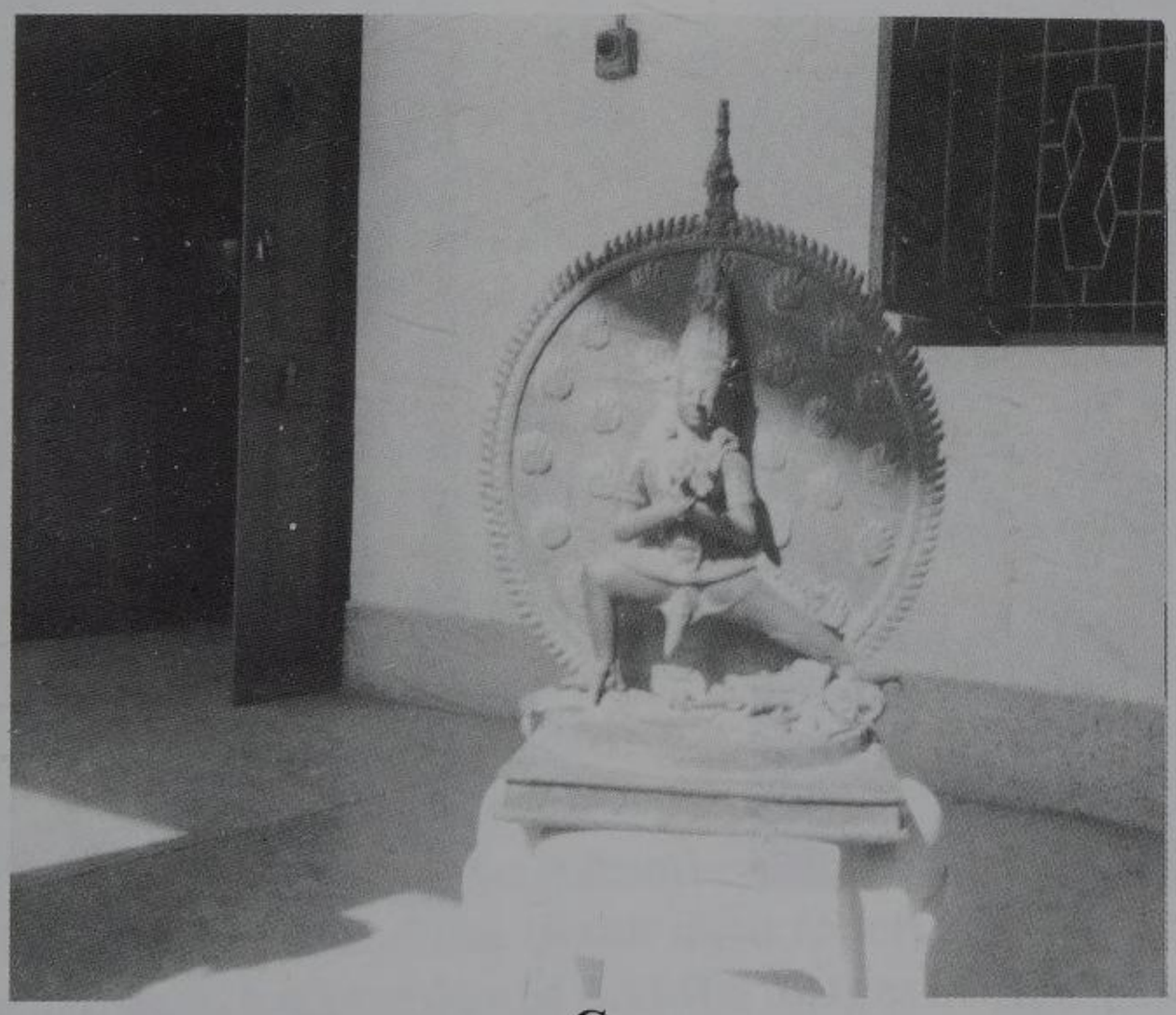
FIG. 3.5 AKṢOBHYA & HIS FAMILY

A

Akṣobhya surrounded by 8 Bodhisattvas,
Ratnagiri (8th-9th century)

B

Vasudhārā, Lalitgiri
(8th century)



C

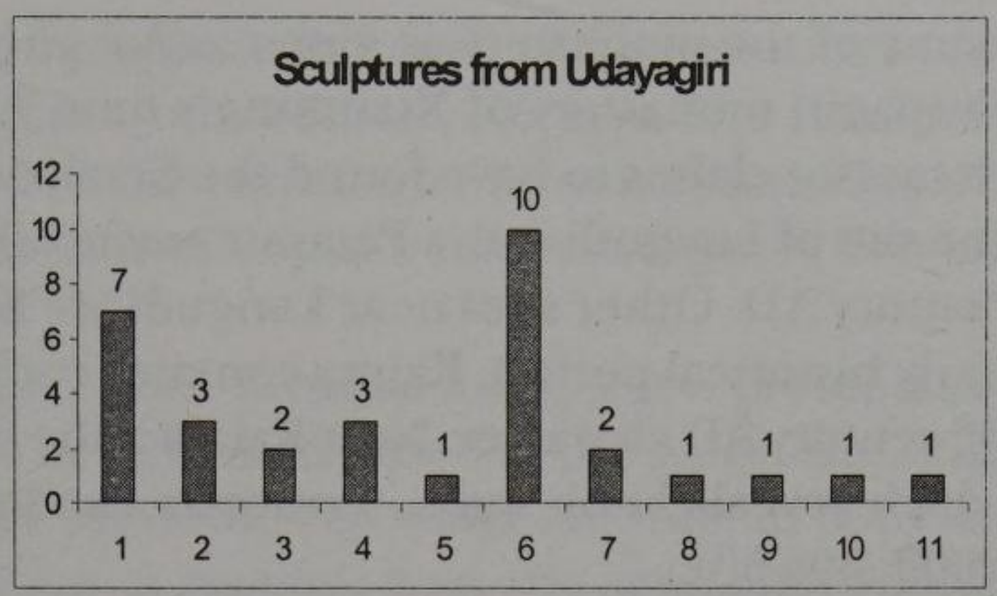
Vajrahunkāra/Trailokyavijaya, bronze, Achutarajpur
(OSM) Bhubaneswar (10th-11th century)

D
Hayagrīva, Lalitgiri
(7th century)

E
Jambhala Solampur
(8th century)

F
Heruka, Ratnagiri
(8th-9th century)

G
12-Armed Sambara, Ratnagiri
(Patna Museum) Courtesy ASI
(9th century)



1. Buddha 2. Aksobhya 3. Amitābha 4. Vairocana 5. Ratnasmabhava 6. Avalokita 7. Mañjūśrī 8. Kurukulla 9. Vajrapani 10. Cunḍā 11 Aparajita.

The fact that the Udayagiri *stūpa* was built in *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhāva maṇḍala* indicates that the said inscription's reference to a *dhātugarbha* refers to Udayagiri *maṇḍala stūpa*; which contains the relic of an important monk. Udayagiri *stūpa* might have contained the relic of Padmasambhava, who is invoked with other deities of the Buddhist pantheon. The difference between his age (8th century AD) and the character of the inscription (9th century AD) precludes the possibility of his deification unless he was attached to Mādhavapura mahāvihāra. It might be due his association with the Udayagiri monastery that the monastic establishment acquired great fame.

The *upasanāgṛhya* is a rectangular shrine chamber with twenty-three pedestals length-wise and 6 each on two sides. It faces east and there is a flight of steps to approach the pedestal from the monastery 2. To the north west of this *upasanagrhya* is found the largest concentration of votive *stūpa*, twenty-one votive *stūpa* in front of the Monastery 2, which also include some *pañcayatana* ones along with seven more near *upāsanāgṛhya*.

Detailed analysis of deities in Udayagiri reveals the following deities, which are represented in the following diagram.[54]

3 II. 3.4 Laṅgudi

Laṅgudi was another early historical Buddhist establishment, which continued for about thirteen centuries. This long continuity of Buddhist sites of Orissa was one of the remarkable features, which is in contrast to many sites of the Krishna valley, which declined after 5th century AD.

The excavation of Laṅgudi reveals a *mahāstūpa* on the northern side of the hill. With a square base its drum is made of laterite block. In contrast to the other Buddhist sites, Laṅgudi contains rock-cut *stūpa* and images in high relief (Not rounded as in western Deccan sites of Kanheri and others). Towards the southeast of *mahāstūpa* is a rock-cut rounded *stūpa*. A number of relief images of Buddhist deities, Bhṛkuṭī, Tārā, Mañjūśrī and Buddha (from right to left) are found. The excavation brought to light a monastery, number of Buddha images in different postures (having affinity with Buddha images of Java), number of *brāhmī* inscriptions, which refer to

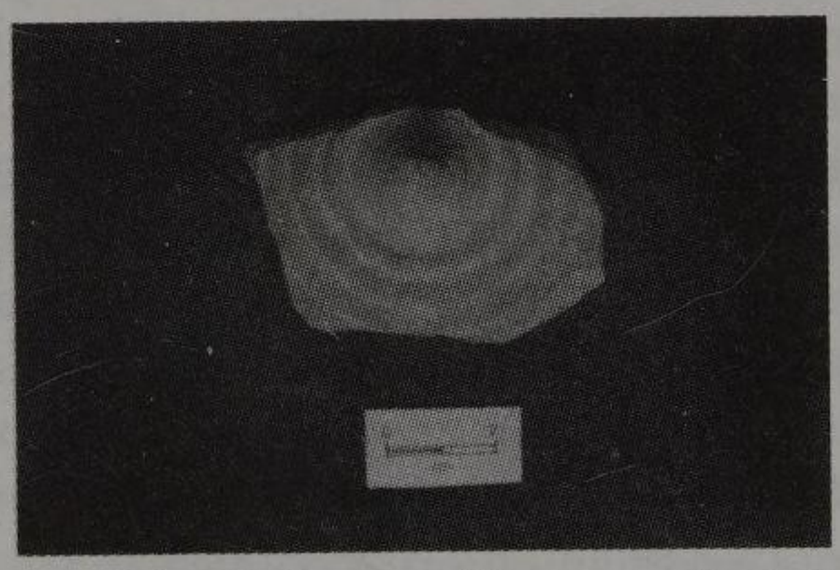


Fig. 3.9 : Knob ware with concentric circle; maṇḍala symbolism in early historical site of Radhanagar near Langudi (4th century AD)

name of the monastery as *puṣpa sabhar giriya*, identified by the Excavator as famous Puṣpagiri monastery of Xuanzang's time.[55] On close examinion inscriptions are the excavator claims to have found the first iconographic representation of Aśoka. Near the site of Langudi is the Patapur *maṭha*, which preserves many Viṣṇu images of 11th century AD. Other sites near Laṅgudi are Kaima, which is a rock-cut Buddhist site of early historical period. Kaima contains rock-cut caves and *brāhmī* shell inscription of 5th century AD character. Near Kaima is the early historical fortified site of Radhanagar, which reveals knob ware, terracotta earrings, and beads of various stones (Mishra 2002: 506-50).

These are some of the major Buddhist establishments of Orissa. All of them are concentrated in the cluster of the Birupa-Kimiria-Keluo. Other sites in the belt include Vajragiri, Chandia, Kolanagiri, all of which preserve remains of *stūpa* and monastery. Most of the sculptures of Vajragiri have been shifted to the State Museum. However recently a votive *stūpa* and unidentified *bodhisattvas* have been found. The bodhisattva has four hands; he wears an *upavita* of *kāpāḷa*; holds rosary, a sword, *varada*. In the Prācī valley Kuruma (11 km north west of Konark) emerged as an important Buddhist centre in 7th century AD and continued for a long time. In the Dāyā valley Aragarh and Kukrimunda preserve remains of *stūpa*.

However, archaeological remains cannot be the only basis of hierarchisation of sites as the importance of an establishment depended on many other variables – size, catchment area of the pilgrims, cultural traditions and myths associated with the site and the perception of the lay community.

3 II. 4 Maṇḍalas in Stūpa and Sculpture

The concept of *maṇḍala*, as old as the *Arthaśāstra*, pervaded many realms in early medieval Orissa. Concentric *maṇḍala* made of powder constituted an integral part in the rituals of Vajrayāna and other religions. In sculpture the five *Dhyani* Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* are represented in *maṇḍala* form while in political sphere the epigraphic evidence of the period refer to many *maṇḍala*. Further this *maṇḍala* theme permeated in the organisation of sacred space as in case of Tambiah's cosmological topography or Slusser's Nepal.[56] Shepard has characterised this extensive use of the *maṇḍala* symbol as *Maṇḍalisation* and analysed the *maṇḍala* form into three basic and interrelated elements: boundedness, hierarchy and importance of centre (Shepard 1985:121).

The organisation of political space into *maṇḍala* was one of the important features of polity of early medieval Orissa, particularly during the Bhaumākaras and the Somavaṁśis. Jajpur was the capital and numerous secondary rulers refer to their domain as *maṇḍala*. Some of the *maṇḍalas* which found reference in the inscriptions of this period are as follows: Śvetaka *maṇḍala* around Dhenkanal district, Khiñjali *Maṇḍala* around Sonepur, Baud and Anugul region, Khijjiṅga *maṇḍala* around Khiching in Mayurbhanj district, Kodalaka *maṇḍala* middle Brahmani valley, Airāvata *maṇḍala* in southern part of Dhenkanal district, western part of Cuttack district and northern part of Nayagarh district, Yamāgarta *maṇḍala* comprising Dhenkanal

Keonjhar and Sundargarh district, Banai *maṇḍala* in Panposh and Bonai subdivision of Sundargarh district, Cakrakota *maṇḍala* around Bastar, Koraput and Kalahandi district, Kongoda *maṇḍala* in south Puri and Ganjam district (around Bankadagarh) and Khindariśrańga-*maṇḍala* in Aska region of south-western Ganjam (Ganguly 1997:193).

Like the organisation of political space into *maṇḍala* form, the representation of Buddhist divinities in *maṇḍala* came to be extensively used in the sculptures, *stūpa* and other art objects from 7th century AD onwards. Vajrayāna saw human body as a *maṇḍala* at an extreme level of symbolisation. A *maṇḍala* is an arrangement of deities conceived of in sets laid out along the axes of cardinal points around a centre (Gellner 1996:190). A *maṇḍala* is divided into five sections, while on the four sides of a central image or symbols are disposed, at each of the cardinal points, four other images or symbols are placed (Tucci 1970).

The Buddhist *maṇḍala* consists of a series of concentric magical circles, containing figures of Buddhist divinities. Unlike Tibet and Nepal no Buddhist painting is found in Orissa. On the other hand, *stūpa* and sculptural *maṇḍala* are the modal *maṇḍala* forms in the Buddhist sites of Orissa. These Buddhist *maṇḍalas* may consist of *stūpa* images of single slab sculpture with Tathāgata Buddha or a form of Mañjūśrī, usually Dharmadhātu or Dharmaśaṅkha variety of Mañjūśrī surrounded by four or eight companion deities or of large free standing *bodhisattvas*, as in case of Lalitgiri, which are aligned to form a *maṇḍala*. These *maṇḍala* can be dated to 8th-9th century AD. The *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī, Kriyāsamuccaya* and *Vajrāvalī-namoh-maṇḍalaopāyika* give elaborate descriptions of these *maṇḍala*. There is abundant indirect evidence in the form of biographies, legends from Tibet and China associating Orissa with early texts on *maṇḍala*. The Chinese records refer to one ruler of Odra, Subhakaradeva (660–758) introducing Tantrāyana Buddhism in China at the beginning of the 8th century. He arrived at the Chinese capital at the invitation of Tang Hsuan-tsung. Subhahakara, who was originally a prince of Central India, obtained *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-samādhi* most probably at Ratnagiri and after long pilgrimage reached China and introduced the *Mahāvarocanasaṁbodhi* (Yamamoto 1990). He also made an iconographic copybook in his own hand of the *maṇḍala* deities of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasamgraha* (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha* 1981). This text survives in Japan and known as *Gobushiṅkan*. Both *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and the *Gobushiṅkan* emphasises the importance of Mahāvairocana and the interrelated *Mahakarunagarbhodbhava-* and *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*. These two *maṇḍalas* form the basis of Japanese Shingon Buddhism and, according to Japanese legends, were transmitted by Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva who kept them for severál hundred years within an iron *stūpa* in South India until they were recovered by Nāgārjuna (Snodgrass 1988 I: 111-19).

That Orissa was indeed the cradle of *maṇḍala* and *Tantrayāna* is further known from the Tibetan texts, *Pag Sam Zang* and the *Blue Annals*, which refer to Sarah, also known as Rahulabhadra as introducing *Guhyasamāja-tantra* to Nāgārjuna (Roerich 1949 I: 359-360). The Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi image Inscription at Khadipada records that the image was a pious dedication of the *mahāmaṇḍalācārya paramaguru*

Rahulacari during the reign of Śubhakaradeva (Ghosh 1942:247-8). The title suggests that Rahulacari was well-versed in *maṇḍala.*

In the formation of *maṇḍala* in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (6th century AD), each Tathāgata was given a direction, a *mantra,* a colour, a *prajñā* and a guardian of the gate (Bhattacharyya 1968: 45). Vairocana plunged into the concentration called the Diamond of the Great Passion of the Tathāgatas: All the Tathāgatas enter the three diamonds of body, word and spirit (Tucci 1970: 99). Vairocana is placed in the centre. Shifting from the role of to Akṣobhya, he blessed "the four-cornered dustless *maṇḍala* of Great Pledge in the *bhāgas* of the diamond ladies and then seated, in the centre, he began the emanation of the *maṇḍala.*" (Wayman 1980: 125) The modal representation of deities in maṇḍala form is the following alignment of the Buddhas:

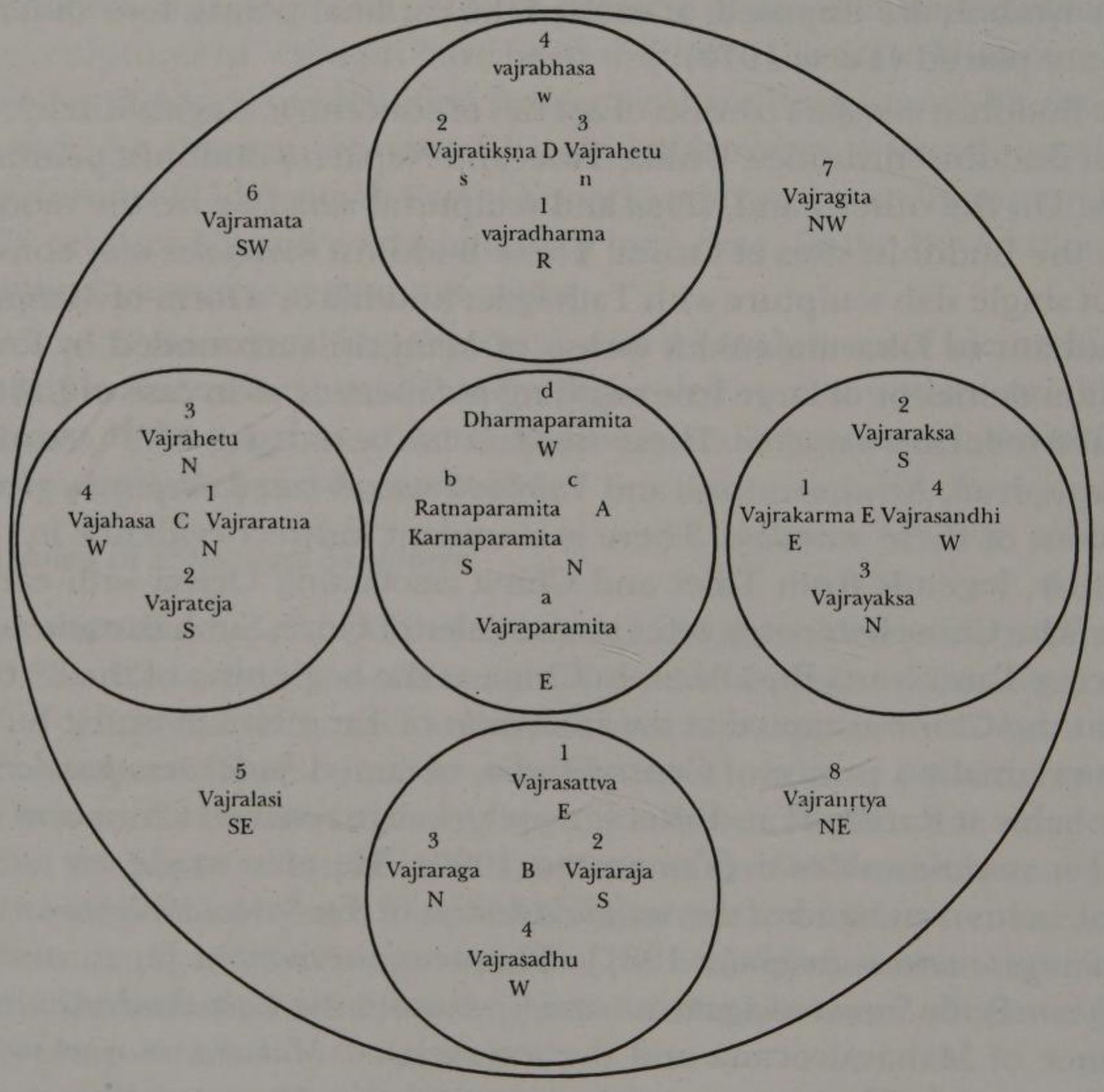


Fig.3.10 Diagrammatic Representation of Vajradhātu Maṇḍala (four × four=16 *bodhisattvas*)[57]

A. Mahāvairocana, B. Aksobhya, C. Ratnasambhava, D. Amitābha, and E. Amoghasiddhi.

Included among the Orissan examples displaying this alignment are several monolithic *stūpas* at Ratnagiri (*stūpa* no. 30 from the group in front of the Monastery II and *stūpa* no. 227 from the group near *stūpa* no. 1. In some, Vairocana replaces one of the *Tathāgatas,* as on the exterior of the Udayagiri *stūpa* where he replaces

Amoghasiddhi. Else where, as on a bronze *stūpa* of Achutarajpur he replaces Ratnasambhava. Slightly more complex is the *maṇḍala* on *stūpa* 37 at Ratnagiri from the monolithic *stūpa* near Monastery 2 where the *Prajñās* of each *Tathāgata* is inserted into the caitya medallion above (Mitra 1981 I: pl. CCLI). Rather than facing intermediate direction as enjoined in the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* (*Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī*: 34-35, 37, 58, 61), the *Prajñas* face the same direction as the *Tathāgatas* for whom they serve as consorts). This positioning of *Prajñas* has possibly more to do with spatial constraints of the monolithic *stūpa* than a deviation from the text.

From the Buddhist sites of Orissa five types of *maṇḍala* are found – 1.The *stūpa maṇḍala* with four Dhyāni Buddhas flanked by two *Bodhisattva* each; 2. Sculptural *maṇḍala* of eight *Bodhisattvas* around a Buddha on a single stone slab; 3. Four r̄ four Bodhisattvas surrounding four Dhyāni Buddhas with the fifth one at the centre; 4. free-standing *Bodhisattvas* forming a *maṇḍala* and the last type being the *maṇḍala* diagram on the back of image. The last category– maṇḍala diagram– is incised on the back of Jambhala image at Ratnagiri which consists of two concentric circles along with the Buddhist creed, a *mantra* and letters and numerous inscriptions representing Jambhala, Vasudhāra, dance deities, deified paraphernalia and musical instruments (Mitra 1981 I: 230-232).

3 II. 4.1 Stūpa maṇḍala with four Tathāgatas and eight Bodhisattvas

As referred above there are numerous *stūpa maṇḍalas*, the most elaborate being the stūpa maṇḍala of Mādhavapura *mahāvihāra* (Udayagiri *stūpa*). The Udayagiri *stūpa*, dated to 9th century AD, exhibits affinities with *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhāva-maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocanabhisambodhi*, including the base which is square (Donaldson 2001:149). On this *maṇḍala* the four *Tathāgatas* are included with Vairocana on the eight-petalled central lotus of the triadic world conception of the *Mahākarunagarbhodbhāva maṇḍala*, while in the third rank are the ***Bodhisattvas***– Mañjūśrī (E), Sarvanivaranaviṣkhambin (W), Kṣitigarbha (N) and Ākāśagarbha (W), in the "Guidance in the Secret *Maṇḍala*"(Ch. XVI). The centre lotus has the four *Tathāgatas* facing the four directions while four Bodhisattvas face the intermediate direction, *i.e.* Sāmantabhadra (SE), Avalokiteśvara (NE), Mañjūśrī (SW) and Maitreya in NW (Snodgrass. 1988: 354, Mmitzsch 1991: 88-91; Lokesh Chandra 1971).

On Udayagiri Mādhavapura Mahāvihāra Akṣobhya on the east is flanked by Maitreya and Sarvanivaranaviṣkhambin, Amitābha on the west is flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi, Ratnasambhava on the south is flanked by Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha, while Vairocana in the south is flanked by Mañjūśrī and Kṣitigarbha.

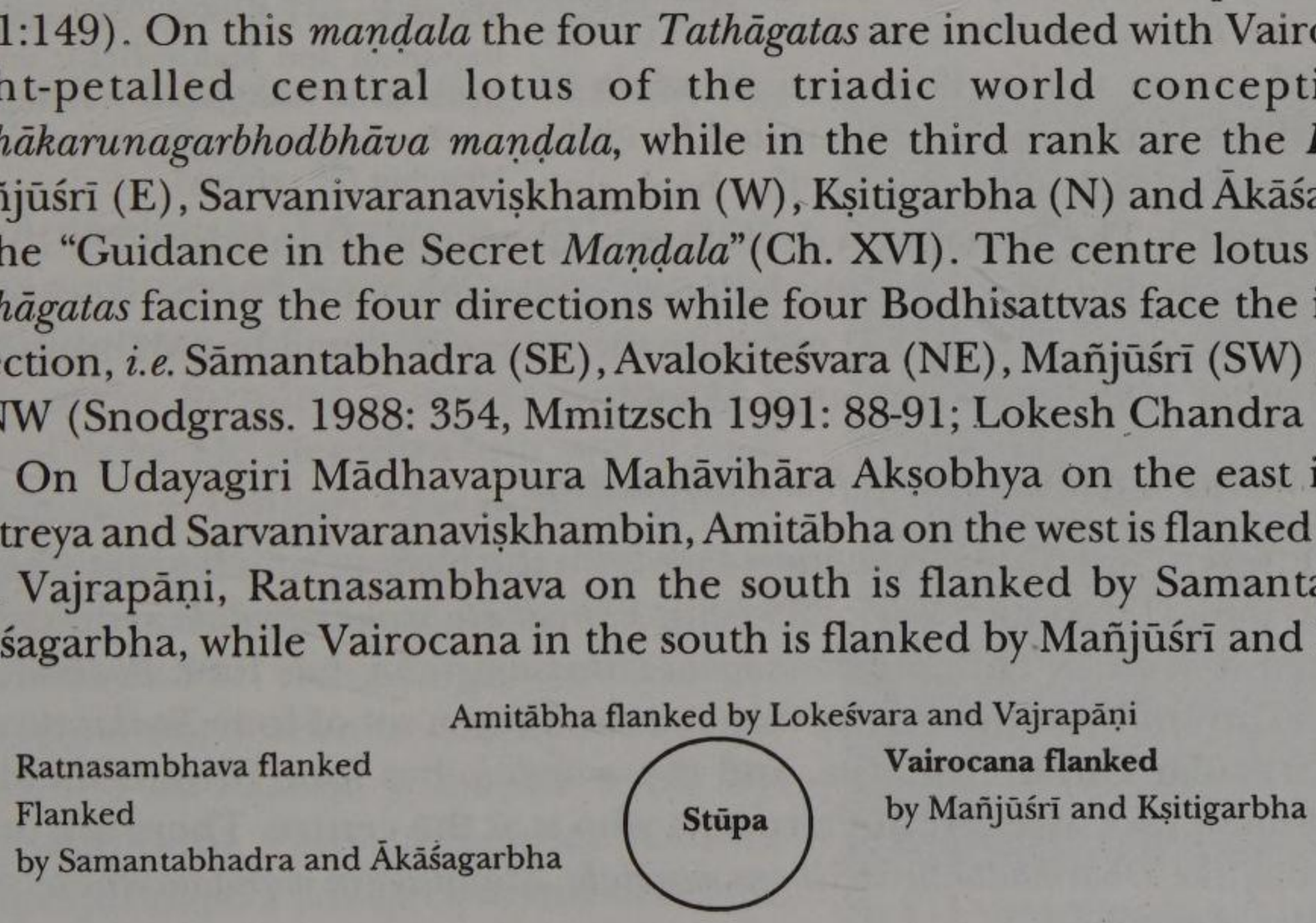


Fig.3.11 Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhāva Maṇḍala stūpa at Mādhavapura Mahāvihāra

Similar large *stūpa maṇḍala* are not found elsewhere but sculptural evidence suggests that there might have existed other *stūpa maṇḍala* elsewhere in Orissa. One Amitābha image from Udayagiri, now in the Patna Museum, has two *Bodhisattvas*, Lokeśvara and Mañjūśrī flanking him. Similarly at Lalitgiri an Akṣobhya image is flanked by Mañjūśrī and Lokeśvara Similar *maṇḍala* existed in Udayagiri as known from Amitābha image now in Patna Museum, Akṣobhya (Banerjee 1931: II).

3 II. 4.2. Sculptural Maṇḍalas with Eight Bodhisattvas

Maṇḍala consisting of a central deity either of a Tathāgata or a variety of Mañjūśrī, being surrounded by eight *Bodhisattvas* was quite popular in Orissa and elsewhere. The first archaeological evidence of such *maṇḍala* is a terracotta plaque from UP, now in Metropolitan Museum, New York (Donaldson 2001:127). One of the oldest reference to the cult of eight *Bodhisattvas is the Bussetsu-hachi-kichijo-jin-kyo*, first translated to Chinese in 3rd century AD (Granoff 1968-69: 90). However, the name of the eight *Bodhisattvas* differ in later texts. Though the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* refers to eight *Bodhisattvas*, the first references to the name of these *bodhisattvas* in a *maṇḍala* are found in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and the *Astamandā-lakasūtra* (*ibid.*: 95). The *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* enumerates in detail the name of these *Bodhisattvas.*

Fig 3.12 : Vairocana maṇḍala, surrounded by eight bodhisattvas (six on the back slab and two on pedestal). The bodhisattvas on the right of Vairocana are Samantabhadra, Maitreya and Lokeśvara; Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapani and Mañjūśrī(L); on the pedestal is Kṣitigarbha holding the jewel-on-lotus(r) and Sarvanivaranaviṣ-khambin (8th century)

In Orissa the eight *Bodhisattvas* surrounding a central deity are found in many places. One of the most beautiful image is the *Vairocana maṇḍala* of Udayagiri in which Vairocana is surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas on the back slab (six on the back slab and two on pedestal). The Donaldson deals them elaborately (Donaldson 2001: 130-131). To his list be added another eight-*bodhisattva maṇḍala* found in the storeroom of the Khiching Museum. I could not examine the image in detail but Maitreya and Mañjūśrī and other *bodhisattvas* surround Akṣobhya.

3 II. 4.3 Vajradhātu Maṇḍala – four × four Bodhisattvas

Slightly different was the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* on the basis of which great *stūpa* of Borobodur was built (Lundquist 1997: 283-306). *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* as described in the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* 19 and *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha,* has four *Bodhisattvas* surrounding a Dhyāni Buddhas on the third circle. Thus a set of four *Bodhisattvas* is linked to a particular Dhyāni Buddha, and the *maṇḍala* has four Dhyāni Buddhas and sixteen *Bodhisattvas,* apart from Vairocana who is at the centre. There are other textual maṇḍalas like *Dharmadhātuvagīśvara maṇḍala, Mañjūvajra maṇḍala* where such schemes are also described.

The alignment of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas* in the *Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala* is as

follows: Vairocana at the centre, Akṣobhya (E) surrounded by Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu; Ratnasambhava (S) surrounded by Vajraratna, Vajratejas, Vajraketu and Vajrabhasa; Amitābha in the west is surrounded by Vajradharma, Vajratiksna, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhasa and Amoghasiddhi in the north is surrounded by Vajrakarma, Vajrarakṣa, Vajrayakṣa and Vajrasandhi.

In Ratnagiri, sculptural evidence indicates the existence of such a *maṇḍala.* The SDO compound of Jajpur (now in the sculpture shed in the compound) contain two images from Ratnagiri– one of Akṣobhya and the other of Amitābha – each surrounded by four *Bodhisattvas.* Akṣobhya is surrounded by Vajrasattva, as known front the vajra and possibly bell, Vajraraja on the upper right, who hold his cognisance *aṅkuśa* (goad), Vajraraga on the lower left dispensing arrow from the bow, while on the top left is Vajrasadhu, who holds a *vajra* (Shashibala 1989:130–150). In the Amitābha image, the Bodhisattvas on the lower left is holding a sword and can be identified as Vajratiksna on the basis of *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* (*Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha,* 1981:19). The *Bodhisattva* on upper left corresponds to Vajrahetu, whose two hands are clenched in front of his chest, where he holds a circular object (*Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*: 22). The Bodhisattva on lower right is not recognisable while on the upper right is possibly Vajradharma. Another Amitabha image surrounded by four *Bodhisattvas* are found from Ratnagiri. Huntington identifies the presence of a similar *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* at Cave 6 at Aurangabad (Huntington 1981: fig. 5).

There are other textual *maṇḍala* with four Buddhas and sixteen *Bodhisattvas,* chief of them being the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara maṇḍala* (*Nispannayogāvalī* 21), the *Manjuvajra maṇḍala* (*Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* 20), *Durgoti-parisodhana maṇḍala* (*Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* 22) and *Marici maṇḍala.*

3 II. 4.4. Maṇḍalas with Eight Freestanding Bodhisattvas

According to Donaldson, the final stage in the evolution of *maṇḍala* concept was the introduction of eight freestanding *Bodhisattvas* forming a *maṇḍala* around a central deity. He identifies four sets of such *Bodhisattvas* at Lalitgiri. One possible central deity around which free-standing *Bodhisattvas* could have surrounded is an image of Abhisambodhi Vairocana, now in the sculpture shed whom Chanda wrongly identified as Ṛṣabha (Chanda 1930: 9). Abhisambodhi Vairocana, who seats in *vajraparyākāsana* a *viśvapadma* and wears the robe of a monk. The mantra inscribed on

Fig 3.13 Mahāvairocana with his mantra on back slab (as part of possible Vairocana maṇḍala at Lalitgiri (8th century)

the back of the image appears in chapter six of the *Mahāvairocana-bhisambodhi.* The *mantra* reads "*namaḥ sāmanta-buddhanāma vira hum kham*" and the text appears in a context where the *samādhi* means the "diamond play victorious over the five *māras,* the non-apprehension of the six destinies, and omniscience", while the term *Vīra* refers to the Enlightenment body (Wayman & Tajima 1992:13).

Out of the four set of *Bodhisattvas* identified by Donaldson, Set 3 is the without ornamentation and forms the earliest.

Maṇḍala of different traditions are also found in Orissa. Noteworthy among them being the Vairocana surrounded by four Pūjāpokaraṇa in Udayagiri, Heruka surrounded by eight *Dākinis* at Kasba and *Vajratārā maṇḍala* at Ajodhyā and Dhanada Tārā *Maṇḍala* of Solampur.

The *Vajratārā maṇḍala* as enumerated in the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* and other texts describe the deity being surrounded by ten *pūjapokaraṇas* – but in the Vajra Tārā Image at the Uttareśvara temple at Ajodhyā in which she is surrounded by four deified *Pūjapokarana* who are placed in the four cardinal directions in the text. On the sculpture Puṣpa Tārā, at the lower right, holds a flower rather than a garland of flower as described in the text, Dhūpa-tārā holds an incense burner rather than torch, while Gandha Tārā holds unguents in her both hands (Ghosh 1980:74-78.).

3 II. 5 Conclusion

The chapter showed the diversity and expansion of Buddhism in a poly-religious environment in which all cults expanded in this period. In many sites all cults coexisted. In others, one cult had major presence but other religions continued to exist. Buddhism tried to adapt itself in such an environment by innovating new deities and introducing new rituals for the new deities. Brāhmanical religions were building large temples, appropriating autochthonous cults, emphasized pilgrimage, numerous *sthalapurāṇas* were written highlighting the *Mahātmya* of sacred places. On the other hand, as this chapter shows Buddhism had innovated new deities, introduced new rituals and extended the theme of *maṇḍala* to *stūpa* and sculptures. The period between 7th to 12th centuries AD is characterised by this vibrancy. The question is how does one conceptualise the relationship between two expanding religions, *i.e.* brahmanical religions and Buddhism? Where did they get resources to expand their base and build huge establishments? While the next chapter discusses the complex issues of religious equations between brāhmanical religions and Buddhism, Chapter 5 makes an attempt to depart from epigraphic records of 'who gave what to whom' to broader aspect of 'markers' of support, particularly seals, plaques and amulets.

Appendix 1 : Buddhist sites in Orissa

Cuttack District

Name of the site	*Findings*
Adaspur	Cintamaṇi Tārā
Akuleśvara temple	Maitreya, Mañjūśrī
Ali	Tārā
Aliabad	Avalokiteśvara
Amaravati-Kataka near Chatia	Mañjūśrī
Asiapat	Brick *stūpa* and monastic complex
Asiapat*	Brick *stūpa* and monastery remains
Bagalpur	Crowned Buddha
Bandareśvara	Votive *stūpa* with images of Dhyāni Buddhas in theniches
Baneswarnasi	Buddha and Khasarpana Lokeśvara (OSM),Prajñaparamita (Padmesvara Śiva temple niche), Siṁhanāda Tārā (Patna Museum), Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara, Khadiravani Tārā in Patna Museum
Barudi	Mañjūśrī in *Mahārajalīlā*
Baujang	Buddha in Vakhyāna *mudrā*
Benipur	Headless Bodhisattva
Bhattarika	Bhattarika is a Tārā image
Chandia*	*Stūpa* remains and other sculptures now stolen.
Choudwar	*Stūpa* ruins, Buddha (Indian Museum), Buddha mask in bronze, Avalokitesvara, Heruka now in Sambalpur, Khasarpana Lokeśvara (IM)Tārā (Calcutta) Vajravarāhī (N.K. Sahu), broken images at Sevasadan compound, Khadiravani Tārā
Cuttack town	Cunda at Bania Sahi, Jatamukuta Lokeśvara, Sugatisandarsana-Lokeśvara, Amitābha at Solapua Ma Temple at Pilgrim road brought from Udayagiri
Dharmasala	Buddha, Lokeśvara, Ḍākinī, Tārā, six-armed Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara (OSM)
Diha ahi(Kahnduala temple at Kaduapada	Kṛṣṇa-Yamari, Mārīcī
Dondua maṭha (Kalyanpur)	Buddha descending from heaven, Mañjūghoṣa, Six-armed female deity
Duburi hill	*Stūpa* railings, door jamb
Durgāpur	Arapacana Mañjūśrī (Donaldson)
Erada	Buddha head and Jambhala
Fakirpatna	Buddha
Jajpur town and Its precinct	Buddha, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, huge Avalokiteśvara in SDOCompound Museum (from Ratnagiri), Mañjūśrī image in Viraja temple Complex, Buddha image in the Jagannātha temple complex
Jaraka Chhak Kaima/ Radhanagar	Two Tārā images, Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins, small images of Dhyāni Buddha, caves, Elephant of early historical Period, fortified town at Radhanagar, *stūpa* railings
Kalanpur[58] (Brahmavana)	Monastery, *stūpa*, Buddha, Hariti, Mañjūśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Mārīcī, Vajrasattva
Kapila	Mahākāla temple, Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Ḍākinī
Kesariapur and Baujang	Jambhala and Buddha in *vakhyāna mudrā*
Kendrapara (Mausi Ma temple)	Avalokiteśvara, Buddha, Akṣobhya *maṇḍala* (from Udayagiri), broken Vajrapāni image (Lalitgiri), Jaṭamukuṭa Lokeśvara.
Kendupatna	Maitreya
Khaira	Buddha (OSM), Avalokiteśvara, Mañjūśrī, Tārā,
Khandara Chak	A *bodhisattva* holding the stalk of lotus in his left hand

Name of the site	*Findings*
Kolanagiri*	Ruins of a Buddhist monastic establishment, a headless Bodhisattva image
Kuas Maṅgala	Jambhala and mound of a *stūpa*
Kundeśvara	Tārā image
Kusupur	Avalokiteśvara
Lalitgiri*	Monasteries, *stūpa*, votive stūpas and other objects
Langudi*	Laterite *stūpa*, rock-cut *stūpa*, rock-cut images of Prajñā-pāramitā, Tārā, and Buddhas in different postures, Monastery I mages of Buddha in *Vyākhyāna* and *Bhūmisparśamudrā-mudrā*
Madhuvana near Oddiso	Tārā, Avalokiteśvara
Mahāṅga	Headless Buddha with *dharma-cakra* symbol, two-armed Avalokiteśvara,
Maricipur	Eight armed Mārīcī
Nagaspur	Ārya Sarasvatī, Khasarpana Lokeśvara, Mañjūvara, Prajñāpāramitā, Cintāmaṇi Tārā
Naraja	Four-armed Jaṭāmukuṭa, a Bodhisattva image
Nasikkotian	Vajrasattva
Natara	Four-armed Jaṭāmukuṭa, Tārā
Nathuabara	Jambhala, Buddha (OSM)
Odisoandeigoda	Votive *stūpa*, Ḍākinī, Uḍḍiyana-Marici, Tārā
Oratapurgarh	*Stūpa* remains (Donaldson)
Paradipgarh	Apsidal *caitya*, Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara, Tārā, fort (Mohāpātra, Donaldson)
Rāmeśvara*	*Stūpa* remains, punch-marked coin
Sakuntalapur on NH 5	Votive *stūpa*, Buddha
Salepur	Buddha, Vairocana
Siddheśvara temple	Viṣṇu Lokeśvara, Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara and a *Bodhisattva* image with *makara* as his *vāhanas*
Singhpura near Oddiso	Votive *stūpa* with Buddha images in the niches, Avalokiteśvara image
Taraṅga	A Dhyāni Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattva, ruins of a possible Buddhist establishment (personal communication, Ekādaśī Padhee)
Tarapur	Ruins of Brick structure. Buddha, Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara, Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjūghoṣa,
Mārīcī, Tārā Vajragiri	Ruins of monastery and *stūpa*, Avalokiteśvara (OSM), Khasarpana Lokeśvara (OSM), Mañjū sri(OSM), Vajrapāni (OSM), votive *stūpa* and a four-armed Bodhisattva image
Varahapur	Buddha, and other Buddhist images
Balasore District	
Avana	Buddhist seals, votive *stūpa* during the digging of a pond, Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara and Caṇḍī temple
Ayodhyā 86^0 45' 10.7" E; 21' 33' 29.7"	Mārīcī, Vajrapāṇi, Varāhamukhī and Buddha, Mañjūśrī, Tārā, Ṛṣabha in the Mārīcī temple, Vajra Tārā in Uttareśvara temple now in the local museum. Gaṇeśa, Buddha *cakra*, ruins of a temple and many other archaeological materials
Jayarampur*	*Stūpa* ruins, copper-plate grant of the Bhaumakaras, Buddha (bronze)
Dhupasila	Mahāttari Tārā
Budhar Caṇḍi (16th century AD temple)	Image of Mārīcī as per the description of the priest
Sheragarh 86° 49'41.5" E; 21^0 26' 11.8"	Siṁhanāda Tārā (Bhuinpara) Outer wall of A. Senāpati's house contains a Aṣṭamahabhaya Tārā image in *Vajraparyaṅkāsana* attitude, Mucalinda Buddha along with a small Viṣṇu image in a small village shrine
Badagaon	Vajravarāhi

Name of the site	*Findings*
Badia	Three-headed Devī
Gandhibedha	*Stūpa* remains, coins, Jambhala
Khaira	Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, coins, Vajrapāṇī (all in OSM)
Kupari *	Caves, three-headed Devī, Mayādevi (Donaldson), Siṁhanāda Tārā worshipped as Pārvatī in the Śiva Temple
Kasba	Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Heruka surrounded by eight *Ḍākinīs*, Tārā
Bardhanpur	Tārā
Mangalpur86^0	Prajñāpāramitā now in OSM Tārā(?) as *Gramadevati*
Ora Sahi/ Dakeśvari pitha	Khasarpana Lokeśvara
Khangara/ Khadipada	Ruins of *stūpa* and monastery, Khadipada Avalokiteśvara image of Rāhulacārī in OSM, two Huge Buddha image now in OSM and another Vajrapāṇi image in OSM.
Solampur *86^0 20'38.2" E; 20^0 51' 59.4" N.	At Santhesvari Thakurani and Jagannātha temple Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, Avalokiteśvara, Hariti, Prajñāparamitā/Tārā in small black chlorite, broken Lokeśvara, bust of bust of Hayagrīva in *vandanavinayi mudrā*, half - buried image of Lokeśvara, Jambhala, headless Vajrapāṇi, Maitreya, In Jagannātha temple Complex Votive *stūpa*, Jaṭāmukuta Lokeśvara, Tārā, Locana, Mañjūśrī, Tārā with inscription on back slab, Buddha in *Dhyāna mudrā*, Buddha with eight great scenes, monastery Vajrasattva now in Indian Museum Calcutta
Soro	Broken images *liṅgas* with *dharaṇis*
Sajjangarh	Six Mārīcī image from Koisiangarh
Balasore town	Balasore museum, Avalokiteśvara, Khasarpana Lokeśvara,
stūpa remains, Maitreya	
Kaupar	Ekajata
Gohiritika*	*Stūpa* remains
Basta	Avalokiteśvara
Puri District	
Achutarajpur	A bronze hoard of ninety-five sculpture consisting of 75 Buddhist sculptures, ten Jaina and five brāhmanical sculpture belonging to 9th-12th century AD
Amarprasadgarh	Guhya Manjuvara
Amareśvaragarh	Avalokiteśvara now in OSM
Aragarh	*Stūpa*, temple, a rare form of Avalokiteśvara, Vajradharma, Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjūśrī
Arkarata	Jambhala
Aṣṭaraṅga	Mārīcī
Bada Tārā	Jambhala, Kurukulla, Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara
Bairo	Mārīcī
Banpur	Khadiravani Tārā (Tikiria temple) and Dakṣaprajāpati temple
Baṭeśvara temple	Avalokiteśvara
Benupada	Clay votive *stūpa*
Buddhanāth temple, Gardeipancana	Saṅkṣipta Mārīcī
Pingalaksi temple, Gardeipañcana	Buddha, *stūpa* remains, Vajravarāhi in Prācī valley Museum, Prajñāpāramitā
Kuruma	Monastery, Buddha, Jaṭāmukuṭa Avalokiteśvara, Yamantaka
Lataharan	Ṭārā
Bhubaneswar	*Stūpa* railings, *stūpa* at Dhaulī, Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara, Mahārājalīlā Mañjūśrī and others
Denua	Buddha

Other than these the following Buddhist sites are mentioned in Donaldson's book. They are; Denua (Buddha), Duburi Basta (three-headed Devī), Ghorodia (Avalokiteśvara), Gopalpur (Mārīcī), Juinti (Tārā), Kapila Prasad (*stūpa* and Dhanada Tārā), Kukrimunda 9 *Stūpa* ruins), and Sundarapada (Tārā).

Appendix 2 : Brahmanical temples in the Epigraphic recods of Orissa

Name of the Inscriptions	*Donor*	*What is donated*	*Nature of temple*	*Temple location*	*Identified Villages*
5-7th Century AD South Orissa					
Narasingapalli plates	Hastivarman	six halas of land along with four *niveṣanas*	Nārāyaṇa temple	Rohanki in Chicacole	Ronaki in Chicacole area
Santa Bomalli plates	Indravarman	Haribhata *grāma*	Bhagavat Rāmeśvara		
North and central Orissa					
Āsanapata Inscription	Śatrubhañja	Construction of temple	Śiva temple	Āsanapata, Keonjhar	Keonjhar Orisssa
Kanas plate of Lokavighraha	Officials of Udita visaya	Village	Maṭha of Maṇināgeśvara	Not known	not known
Kanas grant	Bhanudatta	*khilva*	Maṇināgeśvara Not known but in Northern Ganjam		Northern Ganjam
Western and south-western Orissa Nala Grant					
Podagarh Stone Inscription	Skandavar-man	Pura, a holding	Construction of of Viṣṇu temple		Podagah
Rajim stone inscription	Vilasatunga		Construction of temple for Hari		Rajivalocana temple, Rajim
The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Grant					
Lodhia plate	Mahāśiva-gupta	Vidyāpadraka village	Īśānesvara Bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva)		Not known
Sirpur stone Inscription	Mahāśiva-gupta	Six villges	Viṣṇu		Lakṣmaṇa temple, Sirpur
Senakapat inscription	Durgārakṣitta, a subordinate of Śivagupta Balarjuna		Madanarati (Śiva)		
Gandheśvara temple Inscription	Jojjaraka, of Mahāśiva-gupta's time	Provision of flowers	Gandhareśvara (Śiva)		Gandheśvara temple
Sirpur Stone Inscription	Nāgādeva and Keśava, subjects of Śivagupta	Funds	Śiva		Śiva temple

Periods from 7th-10th centuries South Orissa, Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam Grants of the Gaṅgās of Śvetaka					
Indian Museum plate	Indravarman	Village Bhetiśṛṅga	Temple for Bhattaraka Svayaṁhukeśara and Śrī Mādhava	—	
Bangalore plate	Devenda-varman	Sidhata village	Parameśvara(Śiva)	—	
Chacocle Plates	Devenda-varman	Vrintamntika village	Bhattgrikg	—	
Chicacole plates	Satyavarman	Taru grgma	Village god; but the place is known as a Śaiva sthanakam	—	
Galavalli plates	Manujendra-varman	village	Gundeśvara	—	
Sudava plates	Devendra-varman	Haduvaka grāma	Yageśvara Bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva)	—	
Pattali Plates	Yuvarājā Rājendra-varman	Pattali grama	Srimat Kancipotti Bhattarika	—	
Coastal and Central Orissa Bhaumakaras grants (736-923 AD)					
Terundia plate of Śubhakara	Śubhakara II	Lavaganda *grāma*	For *maṭhas*	—	Anugul region, Orissa
Hindol plate	Śubhakara-deva	Noddilo grama	Baidyanātha *Bhaṭṭāraka,* enshrined Pulindeśvara (Śiva)	Not given	Anugul in central Orissa
Baud plates (two sets)	Tribhuvan-amahadevī	Two villages	Uma Maheśvara temple	Not given	Contai and tamluk region of Medinipur and Tamluk districts
Cāmuṇḍā inscription	Vatsadevī	Installation of an image of Cāmuṇḍā	A temple	Not given	In Jajpur town
Haṁseśvara temple	Mādhavidevi	Temple construction	A Śaiva temple named Mādhave-śvara	Haṁseśvara temple	Jajpur town
Dhauli Inscription	A private person of Santikara II's time	A maṭha	*A matha for Agh-yaka-varatī*	—	Dhaulī near Bhubaneswar
Tenth to the mid-12th century AD Bhanjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala (9th-10th centuries AD) North and North Eastern Orissa					
Patna Museum plates	Śrī Vijaya	A grāma named Vabahiravada, on the bank of Mahānadī	Śiva in *Liṅga* form	Temple not known	Not identified
OSM plates of Netabhañja	Netabhañja	Gundapataka village	To the deity Puruṣottama	Temple not known	Not known
Baripada Stone Inscriptions	Dhruvaraja	Three villages	Most likely Bhīmaśrī temple of Pedagadi	Not given	Not identified but most likely in Kaptipada block of Mayūrbhañja district

Baripada Stone Inscriptions of Dhruvarāja	Kumaravar-maraja	Two villages	Most likely Bhīma	Not given	Not identified
Baripada Stone Inscriptions	Indistinct	Three localities	Goddess Lileśabhadra Durgā (Most likely Bhīmesvarī)	Not given	Not Identified but most likely the region around Paedagadhi
The Somavaṁśi grants (Entire Orissa except deep South) 8th-11th centuries AD					
Brahmeśvara temple	Udyotakeśari	Erection of a temple	Brahmeśvara (Śiva)	Brahmeśvara, Bhubaneśvara	—
Liṅgarāja temple Inscription	Viravarake-śarin	Sixty-five unit of land in Citra and Gajisya *viṣaya*	Kṛttivasa	Liṅgarāja	Not identified
Sonepur plates of	Mahābhava-gupta	Gottaikela, Luputara *grāma*	Śrī Āditya (Viṣṇu)		Gotarkela village near Sonepur
Imperial Gaṅgā Grants (Ganjam, Srikakulam district)(10th-11th cenuries AD)					
Madras Museum Plates	Vajrahasta	Tamaraceru *grāma*	Kotīśvaradeva[59] temple	Kottīśvara	Chicacule in Srikakulam district
Visakhapatnam plates of Codagaṅgā	Chodagan-gadeva	Cakivada-grāma	Rājarājeśvara (Śiva) residing in Remgujed *grāma*	Not known	Not identified
Murupaka plates of Codagaṅgā	Chodagan-gadeva	Murupaka, Gumuruvasaka	Narendreśvara(?)	Not known	Gulumuru village in Srikakulam district
Sellada plates	Chodagan-gadeva	Sellada *grāma*	Bhagavati, a god-dess of the village	Not known	Village Sailada in Paralak-heimudi district of Orissa
Liṅgarāja temple inscription	Chodagan-gadeva	Devadharm-maśrī	Kṛttivāsa	Liṅgarāja temple	Not identified
Jagannātha temple inscription	Chodagan-gadeva	Malada village	Puruṣottama	Jagannātha temple	Maluda in Chillika region in Puri district
Boddapadu Plates Vajrahasta	Erayama	Madaramana varttika	Jaleśvara	Not identified	Koluvarttani in Srikakulam taluka of the same district
Bhubaneswar inscription	Pramadi, the younger brother of Codagaṅgā	Perpetual lamp	Kedāreśvara (Śiva)		Kedāreśvara temple
Mukteśvara temple inscription	Pracari Mahā-devī, queen of Codagaṅgā	Perpetual lamp	Mukteśvara		

There are many small endowments, both of the kings' kith and kin and private donations made to various religious establishments. Most of them are bilingual and outside the scope of my time.

REFERENCES

1. Scholars view that Vajrayāna Buddhism was confined to monastic complex alone. The presence of so many gods and goddesses in votive niches indicate their worship by laypeople at large. Further many of these gods and goddesses have been found in places

other than the monastic complexes alone, which suggest that they were worshipped by lay-people.

2. For documentation of the sculptures see Donaldson 2001; Donaldson 1985-87; Donaldson 2002; Steitencron 1978; Mohapatra, 1986; Rath 1995-96; Dehejia 1979; Survey conducted in undivided Cuttack, Balasore and Mayurbhanj district; Vasu 1981 (reprint); various issues of OHRJ, etc.
3. The Siddheśvara Śiva temple belongs to 13th century AD but could belong to an earlier period as the present temple is built on an earlier foundation. There are Śaiva sculptures found on the interior wall of the temple boundary.
4. The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple preserves an inscription, which gives the genealogy of three Buddhist *ācāryas*, namely Candralekhā, Dharmakirti (Senapati 1966: 425).
5. The excavation of Laṅgudi reveals a *stūpa*, monastery, images of Buddha, red ware of early medieval period, lamps, number of rock-cut images of Buddhist divinities dated to 8th century-9th century AD and number of *brāhmī* inscriptions and allegedly an image of Aśoka as well. The inscriptions are found before I made the survey of the site in 2001. However, the Yakṣa relief at the site proves the early historical character of the site.
6. According to K. C. Panigrahi, stylistically the two-storied temple belongs to 7th century AD (Panigrahi 1981: 397-422).
7. Kuruma is referred to in the in the *Aṣṭhasahaśrikā-prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript NS 135 (1015 AD) and housed in Cambridge University Library (Manuscript No, Acc. 1643). The Manuscript refers to Alagataru-tara, Alagachchhatra-*caitya* and Kuruma *stūpa* of Odradesa. Foucher mentioned this first in his book on Buddhist iconography. (Foucher 1900).
8. Buddhist *stūpa* which was atop the Dhauli hill continued to exist as late as 19th century AD (1876-77 AD) *ASIAR* XXI; 95-98.
9. The Madras Museum grant of Vajrahasta III, dated to Śaka year 984 AD, while registering a separate gift of the *grāma* Tamaceruvu refers to Lord Koteśvara (*EI* IX: 94). The Gallavalli grant of Mañjendravarman of 10th century AD refers to god Kaunduka Gundeśvara (Rao 1991).
10. Rock-cut Buddhist sites of Vishakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts like Salihundam (Srikakulam district), Rāmatīrtham, Śaṅkaram, Kotturu and Thotalakonda. Śaṅkaram, Rāmatīrtham among others declined while sites like Thotalakoṇḍa continued to exist (Sastry 1992). For Śaṅkaram (*ASIAR* XXVII: 46).
11. Epigraphists have different opinion regarding the regarding the deity, while Rajaguru reads it as Maṇināgeśvara and does not find any alphabet which refer to *ambikā*. On the other hand Kulke and others read it as *āmbikā* Maṇināgeśvarī and argues it as evidence of appropriation and integration of tribal deities. They cite the present temple of Maṇināgeśvarī in Ranpur as evidence oi the continuity of the worship of the goddess (Rajaguru 1953: 31-46).
12. The Podagarh stone inscription of Skandavarman records the setting up of a sanctuary (*pada-mūla*) of Viṣṇu (Krishnamacharlu 1931-32: 153-57)
13. In the *Brahma Purāṇa* (40. 6.8) eight holy sites within *Viraja kṣetra* are enumerated. They are Kapila, Gograha, Somatīrtha, Alabutritha, Mṛyutuñjaya, Krodatīrtha, Vasuka and Siddheśvara. (*Brahma Purāṇa*: 237).
14. Lendura Bhagavanpur is on the southern bank of river Chitrotpala in Salepur block of Cuttack district. It is opposite the Kalamai temple at Kalimisri. At present the *Śākta* shrine within the Ananteśvara Śiva temple complex has completely collapsed and the detached images are kept haphazardly. Important images, which could be

iconographically dated 8th century AD are: Camuṇḍā image, a Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikkeya, Śiva-Gaṅgādharamūrti, Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, etc. (survey).

15. Many old images, which are collected from different places, are affixed in the temple complex, which also include images of *Tīrthaṅkaras.*
16. Bhṛṅgeśvara temple is one of the earliest specimen of Kaliṅga style temple and could be dated on architectural ground to 7th century AD
17. Mahala mound is one of the three important mounds of the Maraguda valley, the other two being the Triśūla mound and the Rani Mahala mound. Maraguda valley was one of the important religious clusters from 6th century AD onwards. One *Sākta* monastic complex was discovered from the Triśūla mound in 1982. Among various brick temples, one houses an image of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā in the sanctum. An inscription on the pedestal reads, *Maheśvarī Bhabeidam* (from this grows Maheśvari) (Panda 1988:4).
18. The Haṁseśvara temple inscription of Mahādevī, probably a wife of Subhakara I records the building by the queen of a temple of god Bhava (Śiva) under the name Mādhaveśvara. The record also refers to a pond and *hātta* (market place) (Sircar 1950: 180-83).
19. Mallikeśvara temple complex has two other temples within its compound. They are Rāmeśvara Śiva temple and Biranci-Nārāyaṇa temple. Sculptures found from the place include image of Lakulīśa, Ardhanārīśvara, Ajaikapāda, Yogadakṣiṇāmūrtī.
20. Throughout the late 8th century AD there are many Śaiva temples, which were of *Pañcāyatana* class with subsidiary shrines on four corners of the compound. At Bhṛṅgeśvara temple, a trace of the foundations of these corner subsidiary shrines remains visible. Included in this class are Mahādeva temple at Chasapada in Cuttack Sadr, the Kanakeśvara Śiva temple at Kualo in Kamakhyanagar, the Dakṣiṇeśvara temple at Badagaon, the Madhukesvara temple at Srikakulam, the Patāleśvara temple at Paikapada, the Mallikeśvara temple at Padmapur, the Maṇikeśvara temple at Śukleśvara in Cuttack district, the Kapoteśvara temple at Nathuabara, numerous denuded compounds of Jajpur including Siddheśvara and Trilocaneśvara, Ananteśvara temple at Lendura Bhagavanpur in Salepur division, Siṁhanātha temple near Baideśvara in Banki block, Śiva temple at Bankada in Puri district and Yameśvara temple (slightly later) and Kuṇḍeśvara Śiva temple at Kuṇḍeśvara in Jagatsinghpur division of undivided Cuttack district.
21. While at present there is no Śaiva temple, which can be dated to 7th-8th century AD, sculptural evidence clearly suggests an early presence of Śaivism in Jajpur. I found numerous Śaiva sculpture both within the Virāja temple complex as well as in its vicinity, in the inside niches of a tank called Brahmakuṇḍa. In the Virāja temple one finds Śiva Gaṅgādharamūrti, Ardhanārīśvara, Cāmuṇḍā , Ekapāda Bhairava, Hara-Pārvatī, Lakulīśa, Mahiṣamardinī Durgā. Near Atharnala at Titulamala, One finds Ekapāda Bhairava, Ardhanārīśvra. One finds images of Lakulīśa, Gaṇeśa, Ardhanārīśvara at Brahmakuṇḍa. At the Akuleśvara temple I found an image of Pārvatī with *Godhra* as *vāhana.* In the Akhandaleśvara temple one finds images of Jaina *tīrthaṅkara,* Bhairava, Sūrya, seated image of Pārvatī. These images can be iconographically dated to 7th-8th century AD. The *Virāja kṣetra Mahātmya* which was written in 15th –16th century AD, refer to numerous Śaiva sites which pilgrim should visit. They include Aṣṭhasambhu-Bhairava (17th chapter), Belesvara (22nd chapter, Akhaṇḍaleśvara (23rd chapter) Brahmeśvara (25th and 26th chapter) (*Birajah-kṣetramahātmya* 2001). For other works on *Virāja kṣetra,* see Padhee 2001; Rajaguru 1980; Panda 1985.
22. Kittoe during his travel through Orissa ahs made a copy of the beautiful *Khakhara* Durgā temple of Baideśvara, which was within the Siṁhanātha Compound (Kittoe 1838-39).

Numerous detached sculptures, including four Viṣṇu images, images of various forms of Śiva, including Andhakāsura, Ekāpada Bhairava, image of Gaṇeśa, Naṭarāja are lying scattered in the temple precinct. All of them are iconographically dated to 7th-8th century AD. Also see (Mitra 1960: 21).

23. The Kālamai temple, which is within the adjacent rebuilt temple of Trilocaneśvara Mahādeva temple. Strewn within the compound are images and architectural ruins, dating from 8th to 12th centuries AD.
24. Donaldson argues that most of the temples of the Prācī valley belong to 13th century AD with the exception of Pūrṇeśvara Śiva temple of Bhilideuli (11th century AD), Someśvara temple of Kakatpur, Grāmeśvara temple of Lataharan and Varāhi temple of Caurasi, which can be dated to 10th-11th century AD. On the other hand, he ascribes the other temples of the Prācī valley to 13th century AD. On the other hand earlier scholars like Tripathy on stylistic similarity with the Bhubaneswar group of temple ascribe an earlier date for Sobhaneśvara temple and Grāmeśvara temple of Lataharan (Donaldson 1985-87 I: 15; Tripathy 1988).
25. The fame of Jaleśvara *pīṭha* was such in 16th century AD that Śrī Caitanya visited the shrine. In the *Jalārṇava tantra*, Jaleśvara *pīṭha* figures as no. 41 in the list of 50 *Śākta pīṭhas.* (van Kooij 1972:170).
26. Students of Belabhumi College accidentally discovered the site while digging the ground for college campus in 1981. The discovery brought to light a rich archaeological antiquity of the site. Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist antiquities were discovered, including numerous terracotta seals inscribed with Buddhist *dharaṇis Bodhisattvas* and Jaina images, Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī, a *Saptamātṛkā* panel, and the Caṇḍī temple. The temple built of laterite block is a *Khakhara* temple and is devoid of any decoration. It contains an inscription which could stylistically be dated to 8th-9th century AD (Mohapatra 1986 II: 103)
27. Ajodhyā is a rich archaeological site, which is left to ruin. The present State archaeological sculptural shed preserves some important sculptures. Uttareśvara temple and Mārīcai temple contain some others. Most important sculptures are Vajra Tārā image in Uttareśvara temple, Mañjūśrī Mārīcī, Cintāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara in the sanctum of Mārīcai (Khutai) temple, Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* images in the same compound, *cakra* with images in the axle as found in Vaiṣṇava sites of Orissa, a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa image, Dancing Gaṇeśa, ruins of a laterite temple, mouldings being visible, outer wall of a fortified settlements, etc. These sculptural specimens can be dated between 9th to 14th centuries AD.
28. While Steitencron dates the Nṛsiṁha image of Kaupar to 8th century AD, Donaldson prefers to date it to late 9th-early 10th century AD.
29. The Khajūreśvara temple complex preserves some early Khakhara-style temple, which can be dated to 8th century AD. While the main Śaiva temple had collapsed long ago and in it place is a new temple the temple compound preserves some other temples, which are extant. The Durgā temple is a Khakhara deula is *pañcaratha* in plan. The chlorite doorframe is decorated with two bands of scrollwork. Gaja-Lakṣmī is seated on the door lintel. The detached architrave is chlorite and consists of a *caitya* design housing an image of Hara-Pārvatī. A horizontal moulding at the base is decorated with the *Saptamātṛkās* and attended by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa (Mitra 1960: 12–13).
30. John Beams, while he was a Magistrate of Balasore in 1869, discovered at Kupari extensive ruins of a Buddhist monastery, as well a, a great Buddhist temple, which according to his conjecture had enshrined an image of Buddha (Beams 1871). The Neulpur grant of King Subhakara of the Bhaumakara dynasty records the donation of Komparaka *grāma*

to *brāhmaṇas.* which is identified with Kupari (Mishra 1934; 1-7).

31. Mangalpur preserves many 18th century AD structures, which include the Durgā temple built in the 19th century AD by the local zamindār, a Gauḍīya maṭha in commemoration of Caitanya's visit to the place, a newly built Jagannātha temple.
32. Narendrapur can be approached when one takes a left turn while going to Candbali. The village starts with Chatrapada where the temple of Pattamaṅgala is located. The temple is not too old. The deity can be iconographically dated to 13th century AD. At the entrance I found a painted image of Sūrya wearing heavy boot and a sword hanging, which is stylistically dated to 8th century AD.
33. Solampur, which is referred to in the Bhauma grant, preserves rich Buddhist remains as well beautiful images of Viṣṇu. The Thakurani shed and Raghunātha temple compounds preserves.
34. N.N. Vasu has documented the old temples and sculptures in his excellent book. For other sites I have primarily relied on Mohapatra's *Archaeology of Orissa* (Vasu 1911; Mohapatra 1986).
35. Two temples of Sonepur, namely the Suvarnameru and Rāmeśvara temple, both being originally Viṣṇu temple, now-converted-to- Śaivism, can be dated to 12th - 13th century AD and not to 10th –11th century AD.
36. The two Talcher plate of Śivakaradevā Yr 149. refers to the grants made by Śivakaradeva, the *Paramamaheśvara,* the request of *ranaka* Vinitatuṅga to Jayasrama monastery a village Kallani in the Purvarastra *viṣaya* in northern Tosali with additional taxes such as taxes from weavers, cowherd, etc. with rights over ferries, landing places and forests Another inscription of the same ruler also records a donation to a Buddhist establishment. (Mishra 1934: 51).
37. The Dhenkanal plate of Ranasthamba, the Sulki record reads thus: *asya kula-devata bhagavati-stambheśvarī sasari[ri]kam kṛtvā.*" According to H.P. Shastri's interpretation, the king's family goddess is here said to the adorable Stambhesvari, who was installed by the king having seen her. Shastri, H.P. (1916: 396-427)
38. In the grants of Annatvarman Chodagaṅgadeva of the Imperial Gaṅgā dynasty, it is revealed that Virasiṁha's son Kamarṇava came to Kaliṅga with his four brothers where, they like five Pāṇḍava brothers, worshipped the god Gokarṅasvāmin. They killed one Savarāditya in a battle and Kamarṅava founded a kingdom around Mahendra after distributing lands among his four brothers. According to Oriya *Mahābhārata,* written by Sarala Das in the16th century AD, the five Pāṇḍava brothers came to Mahendra mountain while in exile. To perform the *śrādha* of his father Arjuna one day went hunting for a rhinoceros but mistakenly killed a sacred cow called Kapila that was grazing at the foot of the hill. When the brothers realised their mistakes and prayed to Kṛṣṇa who arranged a *devasabhā* on the top of the Mountain Mahendra. *Siva-liṅgas* sprang from the places where parts of the cow's body fell. The *Pāṇḍava* brothers worshipped the *Śiva-linga,* which sprang from the ear of the cow, as Gokarṇeśvara. *Indian Antiquary,* 18: 143-146, 161-65; 165-172; 172-176. For Sarala Das's account (Rath 1977: 82-84).
39. I have followed Hiranand Shastri, Mallar Ghosh, Puspendra Pal, and Lokesh Chandra for the study of Tārā.
41. The panel no. III.2 of cave (ascribed to the middle of 7th century AD) represents Tārā with a stalk of a lotus in her left hand; stands on a lotus, the stem of which is held by nagas. The panel is badly damaged. Still one can recognise the dread of fire and shipwreck on the left and elephant, serpent and brigand on the right (Sengupta 1955–57: 12-15).

41. The Kalasan Inscription invokes Tārā as a saviour thus: May she, who, seeing the world immersed in the sea of existence, duly delivers it through the three means (Sarkar 1971 I: 34-40).
42. The idea of Tārā as a Saviouress found several references in the epigraphic records of different places from 7th to 12th century AD. For example the Nālandā inscription of Vipula Srimitra, assigned to the first half of the 12th century AD she was invoked as *Jagattarini* (Majumdar 1931-32:97-101). The more famous Kalasan inscription of Java and the Dambal inscription also invoke this saviour aspect of goddess Tārā.
43. While the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* do not describe this variety of Tārā, Getty and A.K. Gordon found such variety in Tibet. Gordon refers to Siṁhanāda Tārā as green in colour, she is endowed with two hands, one head and is seated on a lotus throne supported by a roaring lion (Gordon 1967:75). Alice Getty also refers to this form of Tārā (Getty 1978:123). Mallhar Ghosh refers to a Siṁhanāda Tārā at Bhuinpara, Sheragarh (Ghosh 1980: 54).
44. The Banpur Inscription of Somavaṁśī king Indraratha records a donation to the temple of Khadiravani Tārā of Kongoda region (Tripathy 1966: 271-76). The sama Tārā image is most likely referred to in the *Aṣṭasahaśrikā-Prajñapāramitā* manuscript (AD 1015) housed in the Cambridge University Library (Mitra 1978-27-8).
45. Sādhanā no. 107 describes Dhanada Tārā as green in complexion, beign in appearance and has the radiance of the moon and seats in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana.* She has four hands showing rosary, the *varada* pose, the *utpala,* and the book. She bears image of Amoghasiddhi on her crown and is surrounded by eight goddesses (*Sādhanamālā*: 219). On the exterior of Varāha temple of Jajpur is affixed an image of Dhanada Tārā, which was most likely brought from Solampur. She is seated in *vajraparyaṅkāsana* on a lotus seat holding a rosary, *nilotpala,* book her uplifted back hand. She is flanked by six *bodhisattvas* rather than by eight goddesses, as enjoined in the *Sādhanamālā* (Donaldson 2001I: 253).
46. The beautiful Vajra Tārā image is preserved in the Uttareśvara temple of Ajodhyā. The deity is seated in *vajraparyāṅkāsana* on a *viśvapadma.* Her principal right hand, upraised, wields a *vajra,* while the corresponding left displays a *tārjani mudrā.* The lowered right hand holds a conch, while the other two right hands, upraised, wield a nose and a pair of arrows. On the other hand, she holds a *vajra, kuśa,* a bow and *nīlotpala* in her four left hands. However, deviating from the texts like the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādhana* No. 90, 93, 97, and 110) and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (*Vajra Tārā maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (No. 16), the sculpture represent only four *pūjapokaraṇas* rather than the usual ten. In the Tibetan and Japanese *maṇḍalas* the *pūjapokaraṇas* appear in *Apsarā* form. Vajradhupa (Southeast), corresponding to Akṣobhya offers incense and therefore, holds an incense burner; Vajrapuṣpa (South-west) corresponding to Ratnasambhava offers flowers and thus, carries a flowers in a pot; Vajradipa (north-west), representing Amitābha family, offers a lamp and holds a candle wick in a pot while Vajra gandha of Amoghasiddhi family holds a pot (Shashibala 1989: 344-55).
47. Avalokiteśvara is also conceived as having thousand forms, which is influenced by the *viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu. (Lokesh Chandra 1988).
48. Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara as dispenser of prosperity is very rare in India. Out of the three examples in Orissa, the Siddheśvara image is affixed to the interior wall of the *Jagamohana* of the temple and he could be either Viṣṇu Lokeśvara or Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara (Donaldson 2001: 185). In the Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara image of Ajodhyā,

Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvarà is seated in front of the *ghata* out of which emerges the *kalpavṛkṣa.* In the niches of *stūpa* 97 in the area east of Temple No. 6 at Ratnagiri is an image of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara. His right hand is in the meditation mudra while the left holds the vessel from which the *kalpavṛkṣa* is sprouted. (Mitra 1981 II Pl CCLXVII: 333).

49. In the Khutia temple (Maricai temple) there is an image of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara who flanks the main Mārīcī image. Lokeśvara stands in a flexed pose with his right hand lowered in *varada* and the left hand, holds a lotus. He is flanked in his lower left by Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, who seat in front of a *ghaṭa.* Issuing from the *ghaṭa* a *kalpavṛkṣa* whose foliage arches to the other side of the image. Dispersed along the meandering creeper are *saptaratnas.* Beneath the right hand are five *pretas* with their raised hands clasped to receive the jewel. He wears a richly ornamented *Jaṭāmukuṭa.* In the Badagada headless chlorite image, which is now in the OSM Bhubaneswar, the pretas, including Sūcimukhī are standing with their hands clasped to receive the jewels. The *kalpavṛkṣa*'s trunk is overarched.
50. Six-armed Rakta Lokeśvara with two principal hands opening the lotus petal has been discovered from Aragarh. On the other hand the *Sādhanamālā* describes only four and two armed varieties of Rakta Lokeśvara. Clark refers to a six-armed form of Rakta Lokeśvara. He holds the arrow, *Pāśa, aṅkuśa,* and bow while embracing the Prajñā in his two principal hands (Clark 1965 II 265).On the other hand, the Aragarh image causes a lotus to bloom in his two principal hands. His uplifted back right hands hold a rosary and a *vajra,* while one of the corresponding left hands holds a *kamaṇḍalu.* An effigy of Amitābha appears on his head indicating his affiliation with the Amitābha family.
51. Mallman has brought to light this sculpture in her article how the Buddhist deity is worshipped as Brahmā and Sarasvatī (Mallman 1961: 203-20). Worshipped as Umā-Maheśvara in the Jagamohana of the 12th century AD Megheśvara temple of Bhubaneswar, Halāhaḷa Lokeśvara is six-armed and has three heads. The trident, entwined by a serpent stands on the right back corner of the seat while the *kapāla* is at the back left corner. Lokeśvara is seated in *lalitāsana.* He has principal right hand in *varada,* as prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādhanamālā*: 65-66) where as Śiva is usually depicted in *abhaya mudrā* when he is with Pārvatī and holds a chin of Umā and/ or a *nilotpala.* On the other hand the raises middle hand holds a rosary while the arrow in the uplifted back hand is partially obliterated. With one of his left hands, she embraces the *Prajñā* (Donaldson 2001:209).
52. Guhya Mañjuvajra of Amarprasadgarh is wrongly identified as Trailokyavijaya by Sahu (Sahu 1958: 217). The *Mañjuvajra maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* (*maṇḍala No.* 20) (*Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī*: 48) describes six-armed Mañjuvajra variety to which the Amarprasadgarh image closely resembles. The six-armed deity sits in *vajraparyāṅkāsana.* His two principal hands holds a *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā in vajrahuṅkāra mudrā.* By the second right hand he brandishes a sword over the heads and holds an arrow in the third right while in the second and third left hands he holds a bow and a lotus. The right face exhibits loud laughter and appears ferocious while the left one shows complete absorption in meditation.
53. However three excavator has mentioned 95 sculptures including fragments. We could examine 51 only. There is also a Gaṇeśa plaque and Mahiṣamardinī Durgā as well an image of Jaina *tīrthaṅkara.* (Chaule 2000).
54. This excludes many other deities, which are now in Bhubaneswar.

55. "In a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country is a *saṅghārāma* called Puspagiri (*pu-se-po-ki'-li*): the stone *stūpa* belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual wonders. On fast days it emits a bright light. For and far and near flock together here and present an offerings beautifully embroidered conopies; they place these underneath the vase at the cupola (Beal 1958: 205).

Chapter - 4

RELIGIOUS EQUATIONS BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND BRĀHMANICAL RELIGIONS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ORISSA

4.1 Contours of Religious Developments

Conceptualising the relations between two religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, which were far from being monolithic and were very dynamic – both experienced exponential development and growth – is a complex task. Buddhism, in particular Vajrayāna Buddhism in its exoteric version, experienced horizontal and vertical expansion in our period. At the horizontal level the archaeological sites – monastic, sculptural, and *stūpas* – point out that it was an expanding religion. Vertically, the period saw the introduction of new deities, rituals for them, *maṇḍala* form of rituals and possibly married monks. Appropriating Tāntric-Yogic practices and their epistemology and giving them a Buddhist hue, Buddhism developed a neat but complex pantheon structure. These developments in Buddhism — both at the ritual and iconographic level (The *Kriyā Tantra* deals with the everyday aspect of the religion took the religion to layperson and made it this worldly.) – have been dealt in chapter 2 and 3. Buddhism introduced many new deities during the period. These new developments resulted in the spatial expansion of Buddhism as more than 100 sites emerged during this period, particularly after 9th century AD.

Chapter 3 also discussed the growth of Brāhmanical religions. At one level brahmanical religions were centred on *Pañcopāsana* (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇapati and Surya) and Śaktism but on the other hand, it goes beyond them to include myriad minor autochthonous cults, which had attained popularity at local and sub-regional levels. Still at another end of the spectrum was the presence of tāntric goddess worship. The folk elements in them were very apparent from their iconographic representations and ritual practices. Inscriptions of various times refer to these folk deities like Maṇināgeśvari, Stambheśvarī, Kañchipotti Bhaṭṭārika and Gokarnaśvāmin (discussed in Chapter 3.4, Chapter 4). Śaivism, Śaktism and Vajrayāna Buddhism tried to incorporate these folk gods and goddesses.

4.2 Issues in studying Religious Dynamics

How does one conceptualise the inter-religious relationship, particularly between the above two religions in this south-eastern part of the Indian sub-continent, which

is situated on the north-eastern of the Bay of Bengal and lies between peninsular south and Gangetic north, thus exposing it to the cross-regional influences as well as influence from the sea?

Two impediments come up in this exercise. First, the nature of the sources and the second is the existing historiography. The latter seems to be compounding the former problem.

The existing historiography while providing some insightful analysis of the religio-cultural conditions of the period and its relationship with royalty has completely glossed over Buddhism. It accepts the earlier historiographical notions that Buddhism was waning during this period. It was Hinduism in all but name (Snellgrove 1987: 106). Vajrayāna Buddhism, it is said, consisted of only psychosexual practices, which were borrowed primarily from Hindu Tantricism. It was nothing but Hindu Tantricism crafted with Buddhist terminology. The loss of Buddhism is posited against a resurgent Hinduism during the post-Gupta period, while the assimilation of Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is shown as clinching evidence of the waning Buddhism and its absorption into the expanding and dynamic Hinduism. This historiographical notion has continued from the time of the European scholars who studied Buddhism. They abhorred the degeneration that crept into Buddhism in its Vajrayāna version. They glossed over the religio-cultural history of the period, which was far more complex than has hitherto been acknowledged by historians.

Once the decline assumption is accepted *apriori* the task has been to explain 'octopus Hinduism' in complexities and dynamics of its expansion. Historians cite temple architecture, a corpus of literary texts—*Purāṇic, Sāstric, Tāntric* and *Bhakti* literature and a vast array of epigraphic sources –copper plates, stone inscriptions—that apparently suggest the supremacy of brahmanical religion in this period and corresponding decline of Buddhism. In contrast, Buddhist sources of the period are largely archaeological. The vast Vajrayāna literature is too abstruse to be given meaningful attention. Now that Buddhism has become extinct in India provides the additional space to historians to work on different dimensions of a resurgent brahmanical religions.

The last two chapters tried to contest this dominant paradigm by exploring the religious landscape of Orissa between 5th century AD and 12th century AD. It tried to show not only the spatial expansion of Buddhist sites in a period when Saivism was emerging as an important cult in Orissa with huge temples being built but also the vertical side of the growth of Buddhism, especially in its ritual, in its introduction of deities and their instrumental functions. If we accept uncritically that brahmanical religions were expanding and assuming a hegemonic character because of their inclusive characters, then how does one explain the existence and expansion of Buddhism in the same period?

On the other hand if it is accepted that Buddhism was a flourishing and dynamic religion juxtaposed with an equally resurgent and vibrant 'Hinduism' (which is the case as Chapter 3 shows), then this alternative perspective offers an opportunity to reconstruct their relationship both in relation to their possible competition and co-existence. This alternative paradigm opens a floodgate of questions – questions of

religious identity, *i.e.* whether identity is homogenous or multi-layered varying according to the status of social groups, multivalency of symbols, kingship and religious affiliations and the symbolic relationship between politics and religion and autonomy of religions.

However, the relationship between the two religions has been seen in binary categories. The decline of Buddhism in post-Gupta period is posited against an ascendant and syncretic Hinduism. The question of spread and visibility of one religion is inextricably linked with the question of practitioners' identity. How was one viewing himself as a follower of particular sect or religion? This is a complex question, especially in South Asian religio-cultural context where different sects of Hinduism and Buddhism have so many commonalties. Worshiping Buddha at a single temple by a worshipper can be interpreted in two ways: a Buddhist paying homage to the lord of the religion or a Vaiṣṇava worshipping Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (like worshiping Kṛṣṇa or Rāma). Of course there are divinities, who are exclusively Buddhist, Brāhmanical or Jaina. But majority of the pantheon fall in between Hindu and Buddhist dichotomy. They belong to the different religions and are worshipped under multivalency of symbols (*e.g.* Sarasvati is worshipped in Hindu and Buddhist religions). She is identified with Mañjūśrī as well. To take one example, Karuṇāmaya, a form of Avalokiteśvara, is known in Nepal as a form of Śiva. Mañjūśrī is identified as Kārtikkeya. Viṣṇu Lokeśvara and Saṅkhapāṇi Lokeśvara look more like Viṣṇu and are evidently modelled on Viṣṇu. In these situations, a single behaviouristic approach of religious identification is of little value. S. Lēvi wrote, "A rigid classification which simplistically divided divinities up under the headings Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism would be pure nonsense; under different names and at different levels the same gods are for the most part common to different confessions." (Lēvi 1905 I: 319). In ancient Indian cultural context modern insistence on single, context-free religious identity leads to a paradox, which did not exist in pluro-cultural Orissan context in particular and in south Asia in general. Xuanzang's observation that both Buddhism and *deva* temples lived pell-mell in his times in many parts of India is a closer approximation to the poly-religious environment of South Asia in early medieval times than the insistence on a context-free religious identity.

Religious equations between Hinduism and Buddhism cannot be studied in terms of opposition between the two. Depending on particular context, the religious permutation of each religion can only be taken into account within the totality of religious idioms. Gellner classifies these contexts as follows: soteriological, social and instrumental (Gellner1996: 68).

A further question in the study of inter-religions relationship involves the analysis of the degree of heterogeneity of each religion. Both religions cannot be described in their common modern nomenclature, *i.e.* Hinduism and Buddhism. Depending on particular aspects and its contexts, only can their mutual relationship be ascertained. For example, popular Tāntric influences are found in both religions. To characterise one of the two as an imitation of the other's Tāntric feature is to deny not only the independent existence of popular tantricism but also to gloss over the dynamics which led both the religions to channel, capture, conceptualise and

profit from a vast array of autochthonous elements. When one talks about brahmanical religions it must be borne in mind that what type of religion is one talking about that is, whether it is Vedic religion or strong Śaktic-Śaivite-Tāntric tradition or religion of laypeople or brahmanical caste identity. When the Buddhism is talked about it is the monasticism of the monks or devotional worship of the lay worshipper or extreme esoteric Tāntricism of the Vajrayāna or the magic alchemy.

Group psychologists argue that it is a tendency to interpret group identity in terms of in-group heterogeneity versus out-group homogeneity, thereby giving an impression that the competing religion that is talked about is homogeneous. Buddhism maintains and accepts heterogeneity, which includes the monasticism of Śrāvakayāna, devotion and worship of Mahāyāna and ritual and magic of Vajrayāna. At every level and phase of its existence these elements are to be found in Buddhism. Further there must have existed perceptual variation of different social groups about the nature of their own and other's religion. This seems particularly important while studying the religious identity and characterization of the 'others'. The religions of the sacredotal elite are certainly different from the religion of the lay community and high religion of the masses (Singer 1972). Similarly Conze's pithy remarks that the monks are the Buddhist elite and only Buddhist in the proper sense of the term leads us to make a distinction between religions of different groups and reveals the socially layered nature of religious identity (Conze 1960:53).[1]

In many sites of Orissa, Buddhism and brahmanical deities coexisted. Many of the Buddhist deities are modelled on their brahmanical counterpart *viz.* Viṣṇu Lokeśvara, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, and Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara. Similarly brāhmanical religions developed the cult of Sūrya Lokeśvara, Hari-Hara. Historians explain these deities as eclecticism in the South Asian religions.

4.3 Eclecticism/Syncretism/or Competition

The theme of eclecticism, which has been accepted as a truism, pervades historical writings. Historians speak of harmony, eclecticism among various religions in ancient times. Sylvan Lévi's statement that the *Nepal Mahātmya* faithfully reflects the eclectic syncretism, which has nearly prevailed in Nepal, finds an exact echo in modern writing on the Somavaṁīs of Orissa. The authors state that the epigraphic records of the period refer to diverse creeds and point out clearly the catholicity of mind and tolerant policy of the Somavaṁśī kings ((Levi 1905: 204; Sarma 1983: 69).

What is missed out in these perspectives of polar opposites of antagonisms-syncretism is moot question of why particular features of another religion are incorporated by another? The incorporation of the Buddhist deities into the fold of brahmanical pantheon or vice versa indicates a more complex level of interaction and symbiosis between Buddhism and brāhmanical religions. It reflects a degree of competition between the two religions in order to attract the parishioners of the other by incorporating certain baseline concepts and icons to attract the parishioners of another religion. These baseline concepts—irrespective of their provenance – were very popular. They include worship of gods and goddesses, several rites, Tāntric traditions, incorporation of autochthonous deities, alchemy, various life cycles rites,

etc. The origin of these features may be brāhmanical, Buddhist or independent but were adapted and incorporated by other religions. Both religions wanted to incorporate within them by giving sectarian hues to these elements.

One instance of this incorporation is the incorporation of tribal elements. While the brahmanical religions incorporated many deities and identified them as forms of Śiva or Śakti *viz.* Stambheśvari, Maṇināgeśvarī, Gokarṇeśvara, etc. the Buddhist incorporated into their fold under the name of Parṇasabarī who has been described in the iconographic texts as *Sarvasabaranam bhagavatī* (the goddess of all *sabaras* (Getty 1978:134). Other instances of mutual borrowing and adaptation from other contexts can be cited. Caste system is an area, which Buddhism borrowed. Even though Buddhism denied it, the fact that many kings who described themselves as *Paramasaugāta* declared themselves to be believers and upholders of caste.[2] These instances of competitions through borrowing and adaptation occur in both religions. The domination and subordination each religion can only be studied in particular context. What seems to be clear in historical records of early medieval times is not of hegemonic Hinduism incorporating Buddhism, tribal elements, Tāntric practices and cults through agrahara brāhmaṇas but a more nuanced relation between two religions in a shared cultural contexts.

A frequent reference to syncretism, eclecticism is encountered while describing inter-religious equations. As noted earlier, Sylvan Lēvi stated that the Nepal *Mahātmya* represents religious syncretism. This is particularly referred to in connection with an eclectic Hinduism, which accepts diversities with an Elan. The classic example is that of the incorporation of the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The *Bhagavata Purāṇa* first refers to this. The first epigraphic and sculptural representation of the Buddha *avatāra* is found in the Pallava and in Osian sun temple (8^{th}-9^{th} century AD) respectively.

A religious cult is syncretic when it combines soteriological, social and instrumental religion within a single, exclusive and monotheistic framework (Gellner 1996:100) and hence opposes the use of any other system. This definition fits hardly with brahmanical religion or with Buddhism. Brāhmanical religions accept high degree of cultural relation and accept diverse paths to salvation.

Rather syncretism disguises understanding of an important process of competition existing between two religions. Criticising Lēvi's comment that the *Nepal Mahātmya* faithfully reflects the eclectic syncretism Brinkhaus argues that the passages Lēvi quotes reflect rather a special from of conflict and inclusivistic attempt to resolve the conflict (Brinkhaus 1980: 279). He states that the manner of confrontation does not raise doubts about the validity of an alien religion which has an independent existence and its own set of traditions, but rather attempt to incorporate and at the same time subordinate the religion to one's own. (*ibid.*). Dumont's concept of hierarchical encompassment in the context of caste system applies equally to Hinduism-Buddhism relations. Dumont's concept of hierarchical encompassment postulates that the superior pole of an opposition absorbs within it a higher level what is opposed to it at the lower level (Dumont 1980: 239). For instance, practices of the Theravāda and the Mahāyāna were absorbed in the higher poles of Vajrayāna

Buddhism. Allen's remarks that Vajrayāna Buddhism is based on simple inversion of orthodox monastic Buddhism (Allen 1973: 13) is true at one level, yet at higher level Vajrayāna Buddhism integrated the *Śrāvakayāna* practices, the Mahāyāna devotionalism and ritualism of Vajrayāna Buddhism within a single Vajrayāna Buddhism framework. The same applies to the relationship of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The sectarian exclusiveness of the Vaiṣṇavas is evident for many Vaiṣṇava texts. The *Nārada Pañcarātra* says that Brahmā, Rudra, Sūrya, their *śaktis* or their children should neither be worshipped daily nor even be resorted to for the fulfilment of any desire. But at the higher level, such exclusiveness gave way to the development of Hari-Hara cult. The process of polar opposition at the lower level and integration of opposition at the higher level marked the relationship of Hinduism and Buddhism. The orthodox Buddhism decried the worship of divinities, it opposed brahmanical religions but at the higher-level brahmanical deities are incorporated and given subordinate status. It also holds true to the attempt of brahmanical religions to incorporate Buddhism within them. Buddha became an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Other deities like Tārā, Mahākāla were also incorporated within brahmanical pantheon and hierarchy.

Buddhism and Hinduism in early medieval Orissan context operated in a shared cultural environment, an environment characterised by popularity of goddesses, popularity of magic, belief in worship of instrumental deities, numerous rites, rituals, observances and cyclical and calendrical festivals. In these situations, contestation between two religions took place in a very subtle way, given the shared nature of certain base-line concepts, which are common to both religions.

4.4 Routinisation in Vajrayāna Buddhism

Since competition was to attract the soul and patronage of the parishioners of another religion, it is likely that such contestation found expression in idioms that were acceptable to people in general. There were certain ideologies in brāhmanical religions and Buddhism, which prescribed five '*m*' *kāras* for salvation. There were of course some serious believers who believed in Tāntric practices as a soteriological means to attain salvation (*mahāsukha*). But many of these Buddhist *Siddhas* engage in these practices in order to learn magic and alchemy, which definitely had instrumental value.

The *Hevajra Tantra* (*Hevajra Tantra* 2.3.41-5) describes a *yogini* as one who is characterized by his being over all worldly distinction (of caste, purity and etc.) The Lord said "food and drink must be just as it comes. One should not avoid things wondering whether they are suitable or unsuitable." (*ibid.*). This is contrary to a layman's perception of the nature of religion, which involves rituals, worship, purity, etc. Even though Vajrayāna Buddhism as soteriology was esoteric, as an exoteric religion it was highly unlikely that monastic organisations of early medieval India, which had established economic interests, would have preferred the open display of such antinomian practices of esoteric Buddhism. In fact, the Buddhist *tantras* betray traces of a process of routinisation of these extreme practices. Still some members of the monastic community of the early medieval India were engaged in sexual practices as is evident from the *Kriyā Samuccaya* of the 12th century AD (*Kriyā Samuccaya* 1977: 352-5).

The process of routinisation is evident from the *Hevajra Tantra* which prescribes: "First the precepts should be given, then the ten. Then he should teach *Vaibhasya*, then the *Sautantrika*. After that he should teach *Yogācāra*, then the *Mādhyamika*. After he knows levels of the ways of Mantras then he should begin on *Hevajra*. The pupil who lays holds with zeal will succeed. There is no doubt" (*Hevajra Tantra II* 90). Kanhapada's commentary on this passage prescribes a process from exotericism to esotericism rather than outright display of antinomian behaviour. The *Samvarodaya Tantra* (17.1-6) describes the characteristics of *vajra* master who should give initiation. They include tranquil appearance, who has subdued his passion, who knows the practices of mantra and *tantras*, who is compassionate and who is termed in treatise, who talks to sweetly to everybody, who treats all living beings as his own, who always takes pleasure in alms-giving and is engaged in yoga and *dhyāna*, meditation, who speaks truth, who does not injure living beings whose mind is compassionate and intent upon benefiting others.

"Sameness is the emblem (*mudrā*) of his mind. He is the protector of living beings; he knows the various intentions of living beings and is regarded as the kinsman by those who have no protector. His body is complete as to sense organs. He is beautiful and agreeable to see. He knows the true meaning of consecration. His speech is clear, he is an ocean of merit and he always and continuously resort to *pitha* (power place), he is called *ācārya*." (Tsuda, 1974: 294) These liberal prescriptions of the nature of *Vajrācārya* contain inclusive accounts of all three *yānas*.

This might be an actual or ideal representation of a Tāntric *ācārya* but the fact such as interpretation is given in a core *tāntra* (*anuttarayoga tāntra*) like the *Samvarodaya* suggests that within monastic communities such a routinisation was at work. It was in response to the growth and development of Buddhism as primarily a religion of lay people. It is to be noted in this connection that very few deities in yab-yum pose are found in Indian context in general and Orissa in particular.

One can suggest that early medieval monasticism favours such a routinisation and scaling down of extreme practices. In present Nepal the Newar Buddhists maintain a distinction between inner and outer divinities. The esoteric deities with *Yuganadha* pose are kept in inner chamber while other deities are found in other parts of the monastery. Only those who have been initiated to the *Vajrayāna* tradition are allowed to inner level. Whether this was in practice in the Orissan Buddhism is not known (this requires an analysis of the architecture of the monastic complex). But the near absence of the Yab-Yum images points out that open displays of an antinomian Vajrayāna practices were dissuaded in general. Another evidence of such routinisation is the absence of Buddhist deities trampling on their Hindu counterparts in Orissa. As pointed out there are certain cultural idioms, which are very popular and cut across religions. One is the use of Gaja-Lakṣmī; the other is the popularity of gods and goddesses like Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Their representation as subordinate deities to Buddhist deities as prescribed in Buddhist literature would not have acceptance from the lay people who followed and worshipped them. The

fact that Buddhist sites preserve Mahiṣamardinī, Gaṇeśa, *Śivaliṅga* and other images suggest their cross-religious appeal. To represent them as being trampled by Buddhist divinity would have been antagonistic to Buddhism as an adaptable religion, which borrowed and incorporated many cultural icons into their pantheon.

Therefore, contestation between the two religions found expressions in popular realms. They include the realm of divinities, rites, cyclic rituals, observances and other facets of everyday religion.

4.5 Religious Equation: Study of Iconography

One area of cross-religious borrowing and adaptation was in the sphere of iconography. The priestly class of each religion tried to attract the patronage and support base of wider social groups and sometimes the support of the practitioners of opposite religion. They tried to attract the contending religion's support base by investing their divinities with forms and symbols of competing religion and adapted and integrated them in a language and in a framework of their respective religion. Iconography was a fertile field of such cross-religious experimentation.

Lienhard's analysis of this relationship between Hinduism and Buddhism in the context of Nepal offers insight on the relationship between the two religions in our period of study. He identified three processes in his theoretical conceptualisation of inter-religious equation (Lienhard 1978: 278). These three processes are: *borrowing*—borrowing from one religion to one' own; *Parallelism* — by which functional equivalents are developed in one religion of the cults and rites of the other; and *Identification* – whereby a single cult is frequented all under different names (Gellner terms this as examples of *multivalency of symbols*).

To this conceptualisation could be identified four other processes, namely *subordination* — in which divinities are directly given a subordinate position in the competing religion; *conflation*— in which two or more divinities or motifs of the contesting religion were conflated to invent a new deity in their respective religion; *Conversion* — in which the divinities of the opposite religion were converted to be part of one's pantheon and *Combination* of any of the above six processes. The following pages analyse these processes.

4.5.1 *Evidence of Borrowing: Hindu Divinities in Buddhism*

(a) Mahākāla: Mahākāla is regarded as a form and prototype of Śiva. The main temple of Ratnagiri, which was built in the usual Kaliṅga-style of architecture, is dedicated to Vajra Mahākāla, a Vajrayāna variety of Mahākāla. The popularity of the deity is still evident today in Orissa where he is worshipped as a Hindu deity. In the Sādhanamālā and the *Nispannayogavali* he is described as having one face with two, four or six arms and eight faces with sixteen arms. He shared the following characteristics with Śiva: 1 three eyes, *triśula* and decked in ornaments of serpents indicating borrowing from Hinduism. However, he is adapted in Buddhism as a guardian of kitchen. I-tsing refers to Mahākāla who is found in great monasteries in

India "at the side of a pillar to the kitchen or before the porch. Being always wiped with oil, his countenance is blackened and the deity is called Mahākāla" (Takakusu 1966: 38). The ancient tradition asserts that he belonged to the beings in the heaven of the Great God (Maheśvara). At meal times, those who serve in the kitchen offer light and incense and arrange all kinds of prepared food before the deity (*ibid.*).

(b) Sarasvati: The Buddhist Sarasvatī may have one face with two arms and three faces with six arms. She is regarded as a goddess of wisdom learning, intelligence and memory, etc. The Buddhist worshipped Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjūśrī as divinities associated with learning and wisdom; Buddhism incorporated another deity who was popular as goddess of learning. The *Sādhanamālā* refers to five varieties of Sarasvati (Ārya, Vajravīṇā, Mahā Sarasvatī, Vajraśāradā, Vajra Sarasvatī).

(c) Gaṇapati: Gaṇapati is described as a 12-armed deity standing in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, the *khatavāṅga*, the *Kapāla* full of blood, the *kapāla* of dried meat etc. Bhattacharya gives a description of Vajrayāna Gaṇapati. In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* he is described as white in colour and riding on a mouse. He has an elephant face and snake forms his sacred thread. In his two right hands, he carries the *triśūla* and the *Ladduka* and in the two left the *paraśu* and the *modaka.*

(d) Eight Digapalas: They were described as guardian of quarters in the *Dharmadhātuvagīśvara Maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī.*

(e) The great gods Viṣṇu, Maheśvara: They were incorporated into Buddhist pantheon in the same way as has been found in brāhmanical canonical texts owing to the popularity of these cults. While there were ten types of *brāhmaṇas* the Vajrayāna Buddhist had not made any reference to Maheśvara and Viṣṇu.

(f) Other minor deities : Other minor Hindu deities incorporated within Buddhism were Kartikkeya, Varāhī, and Cāmuṇḍā, nine planets, fire, were also incorporated into Buddhist system. Apart from these Balabhadra group of deities representing the companion of Kāma the god of love was also borrowed. One other deity of *Pañcopāsana* group Gaṇapati seems to have received special attention and attests the popularity of Gaṇapati cult. They made changes in the iconographic features of the deities. Cāmuṇḍā, Varāhı were Tāntric deities in brahmanical pantheon and their borrowing attests to the popularity of Tāntric goddess worship.

From the above description of borrowing three patterns come up : (1) borrowing the popular cult like Ganapati and giving them independent status. Instances can be made of Sarasvatī, Kārtikeya, and Gaṇapati. (2) borrowing the Tāntric goddess tradition. (3) incorporation of high Hindu gods. It is to be noted that while popular gods and goddess were incorporated in the Buddhist system, the three great gods of brahmanical pantheon, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara were given inferior and subordinate positions within the Buddhist pantheon. This will become clear as we discuss subordination. As noted Mahākāla who is a form of Śiva is represented as guardian of kitchen.

4.5.2 *Buddhist divinities in Hinduism*

(a) *Budha* :The Buddha is regarded as an avatar Viṣṇu. First literary evidence of Buddha as an *avatar* of Viṣṇu is found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* while his epigraphic and sculptural representations belong to Pallava period and Osian in Jodhpur districts (9th century AD) respectively (Banerjea 1985).

(b) Mahācīna Tārā : The *Tārārahasya* of Bramhananda, who flourished in the middle of sixteenth century claims Tārā as a brahmanical deity. The *Tantrasāra* describes the deity as standing in *pratyalīḍha* attitude with a garland of snakes round her neck having a fierce a face, protruding tongue and bare fangs. She is armed and carries *kapāla* while in two others she carries the sword in the right and the blue lotus in the left. She is decked in five *mudrās* and has one tuft of hair on her head, which is ornamented with Akṣobhya.

This description tallies with a form of Ekajatā Mahācīna Tārā (*Sādhanamāla* 210). The *Sādhanamālā* refers to the fact that the deity was restored by Ārya Nāgārjunapāda from the country of Bhota, which is corroborated by the *Rudrāyamala* and *Tārā Purāṇa* (*Sādhanamālā* II: CXXXVII– CXLC)

(c) Chinnamastā: The deity is regarded as one of the ten *Mahāvidyās* and is described in the *Tantrasāra* and the *Chinamastākalpa.* The deity is described as holding her own severed head in her left hand and from her severed neck issues forth a stream of blood falling into the mouth of the severed head. She is nude, of fierce appearance, with legs in *pratyalīḍha* attitude. She wears a garland of heads and carries in her right hand the *kartari* and according to some texts, she stands on Rati and Kāma. The *Sādhanamālā* contains the description of the deity who is named Vajrayoginī and resembles in all respects the Chinnamastā description (*Sādhanamālā*: 452). From the manuscript the *Sādhanamālā* has been composed before 1100 AD and from the Sādhana it is known that *Siddha* Sabarapāda (Circa 657) was responsible for a new cult of Vajrayoginī, which makes the cult of Vajrayoginī still older. From the *mantra* of Vajrayoginī, Bhattacharya argues for a Buddhist origin of chinamastā (*Sādhanamālā* I: CXLII-CXLV).

In the brāhmanical literature, the principal deity is designated Chinnamastā while the companions are named Ḍākinī and Varanari with the prefix Vajra of *Sādhanamālā* dropped altogether.

(d) Jāṅguli : Jāṅguli's iconographic form was taken from Buddhism and was incorporated into Hindu pantheon as Manasā, who like Jāṅguli cures from snake bite.

(e) Tārā- Tāriṇī : The main centre of Goddesses Tārā and Tāriṇī in Ganjam is regarded as an important pilgrim centre of southern Orissa. Here the two goddesses are represented in two stones with silver eyes (aniconic). These two folk deities, now fully Hinduised, seems to have gone through a Buddhist phase before being incorporated to Hinduism (Jaiswal 1985 : 1-14). A small Bodhisattva image is now being worshipped together with the goddesses in the *garbhagṛhya.* The folk element of the deity is still extant at this important shrine where during Durgā *pūjā* animal sacrifices are offered to the goddesses inside the *garbhagṛhya* (Eschmann 1978: 91).

4.5.2 Evidence of Parallelism

In both religions the functional or iconographic equivalents or the both, are found suggesting a process of parallelism :

Table 4.1: Evidence of Parallelism

Hindu divinities	*Aspects of parallelism*	*Buddhist divinities*	*Function*
1. Chinnamastā	Iconographic	Vajrayoginī[3]	—
2. Dhanada	Functional	Cintāmaṇi Tārā	Goddess of wealth
3. Durgā	Functional	Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā	Saviouress Goddess
4. Indra	Functional	Vajrapāṇi	rain-god
5. Kārtikkeya	Iconographic	Mañjūśrī[4]	—
6. Kubera	Iconographic and functional	Jambhala [5]	God of wealth
7. Manasā	Functional and iconographic	Jaṅguli	Snake-bite
8. Matsyendranātha (Kṛṣṇa in Nepal)	Similar traditions	Karuṇaṃaya Avalokiteśvara	—
9. Nārāyaṇa	Iconographic functional	Sristkartar-Lokeśvara[6]	Creator god
10. Nīlakaṇṭha	Similar tradition	Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara[7]	—
11. Saptamātṛkā	Iconographic and functional	Hāriti[8]	Goddesses of fecundity
12. Sarasvatī	Functional	Mañjūśrī[9]	Goddess of learning
13. Śītalā	Functional	Parṇasabari	Goddess of epidemics
14. Śrī Lakṣmī	Iconographic and functional	Vasudhara[10]	Goddesses of prosperity
15. Śrī-lakṣmī	Functional	Mahāśrī Tārā	Goddess of wealth
16. Sūrya	Iconographic	Mārīcī[11]	—
17. Varāhi	Iconographic	Varāhamukhī	
18. Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva	Iconographic	Saptasatika Hayagrīva[12]	—

4.5.3 *Evidence of Subordination*

Hinduism, by accepting Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, accorded equal status to the lord of the religion. But more often in temple architecture Buddhist deities find place in temple recesses only suggesting their peripheral position in the hierarchy. Within Buddhism on the other hand, the dominant pattern is incorporation and subordination of Hindu divinities. Elements of Hindu cosmology are rearranged in Buddhist scheme in a way deliberately subordinating the brahmanical divinities and giving them inferior positions. Many of the Hindu divinities are described in the Buddhist texts assuming inferior roles in the service of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas.*

(a) Sṛṣṭikartṛ Lokeśvara: This form Avalokiteśvara is depicted creating the world. The iconography shows the deity emitting various Hindu gods from different parts of his body. The textual inspiration of this iconographic form comes from the *Ganakaruṇḍavyuhya* which says that Avalokiteśvara creates sun and moon from his eyes,

Maheśvara from his brow Brahmā and other gods from his shoulders, Nārāyaṇa from his heart, Sarasvatī from his feet and Varuṇa from his belly (Winternitz 1983 II: 308).

(b) Harihariharavāhana Lokeśvara: It depicts Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi riding on shoulders of Viṣṇu, Hari who as Hari (Garuḍa) as his mount, the divine bird man again being mounted on the back of a lion (Hari) (Brinkhaus. 1985: 422-29). Advantage was thus taken of some of the synonyms of the word Hari by the sectarian icongraphers in order to formulate such an icon in which the principal god of Viṣṇu worshippers was shown as a mere mount of Buddhist divinities.

(c) Candramahāsona : carries the noose in order to bind the enemies who cause suffering to humanities such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā who were terrified by the raised index finger (*tarjani*) of the god (*Sādhanamālā*: 174). In the same Sādhana they describe that Candrosana should be conceived as looking towards miserable people who were subjected to constant revolution in the cycle of existence by wicked gods like Viṣṇu. Brahmā, Śiva and Kandarpa. By Candrosana's intervention the host of Māras who are terrified, weeping nude with dishevelled hair, hopeless and in despair, are hacked to pieces with swords. Candrosana gives their lives back and places them near his feet so that they may perform pious duties in the future.

(d) Mṛtyuvacana Tārā : The worshipper conquers death as though emancipated and Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, and *caturdigapālas* cannot destroy even the ends of his hair (*Sādhanamālā*: 175).

(e) Aparajitā: Aparajitā is depicted as trampling on Gaṇeśa and having Brahmā as her parasol bearer. But from Lalitgiri and elsewhere in Orissa Aparajitā is seen trampling upon an elephant rather than on Gaṇeśa.

(f) Prasanna Tārā: Indra, Brahmā, Upendra and Rudra are below his feet.

(g) Mārīcī: While describing Mārīcī the principal Hindu gods are reduced to a humiliating position of making obeisance to Mārīcī. Some of them are trampled under her feet while others obey her orders like her servants (*Sādhanamālā*: 300).

(h) Kurukulla: Whoever pleases goddess Kurukulla, to her Brāhma, Rudra, Indra and Narāyāṇa and others come and meet him like servants (*Sādhanamālā*: 350).

(i) Vajravalanaarka: He is characterised as trampling under his feet not only Viṣṇu but his consort Lakṣmī (*Sādhanamālā*: 512).

(j) Bhūtadamara: he is described as one who is an expert in destroying the pride of Indra, Bramhā, Kubera and others (*Sādhanamālā*: 512).

(k) Ucchusma Jambhala: The deity is described in one place as pressing Kubera under his feet so that he vomits jewels.

(l) Severed head Brahmā: Mārīcī, Vajra Sarasvatī, Bhṛkuṭi, Prasanna Tārā and several others carry the severed head of Brahmā.

(m) Trailokyavijaya: She is seen trampling on the head of Śiva and the bosom of Gaurī who lie on the ground in opposite direction (*Sādhanamālā* : 511)

(n) Paramasva: The deity is described as four-legged and as trampling with the first leg on Indrāṇī and Lakṣmī with the second on Rati and Prītī with the first left on

Indra and Madhukara and with the second left leg trampling on the Jayakara and Vasanta (*Sādhanamālā* 510).

The *locus classicus of trailokyavijaya* is the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* where he is depicted in an epic battle to subjugate Maheśvara — the great god, the lord of knowledge. Maheśvara expresses his willingness to submit to Mahāvairocana Buddha but it offends his dignity to submit to anyone of lesser status than the central Tathāgata. Trailokyavijaya is stated to be the combined wisdom and commanding power of the five directorial Tathāgatas and a form of Vajrapāṇi. To Maheśvara this makes Trailokyavijaya as murdering. Maheśvara calls him a Yakṣa and despite being commanded by Vairocana to submit to Trailokyavijaya, he refused to submit. Once Maheśvara surrenders he is given a nick name and is admitted into Buddhist fold as a powerful preceptor (section 2, *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*:)

(o) Hayagrīva: Worshipping Hayagrīva entails to *vidyādhara* land where the ascetic enjoys all sorts of pleasure. Devendra becomes his parasol bearer. Brahmā, his minister, Kārtikeya his general, Hari his gate keeper, Śaṅkara his preceptor.

(p) Ubhayavarahanaka Mārīcī: She is clad in tiger skin and tramples under her feet the gods like Hari, Hara, Brahmā and others (Sahai: 1975). However, it is to be noted that there is no evidence of subordination of brahmanical deities in Orissa except in two instances. One is at Fakirpatna and the other in Baneswarnasi. In the former, Buddha is represented in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. On the uppermost corner of the backslab are found Hindu deities riding on their *vāhanas* with right arm raised in tarjani suggesting that they were the army of Mara. On the left side the four gods– Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva – are representing but now each holds their principal hands in *añjalī mudrā* to indicate that they are paying homage to the Buddha (Section 3.6.3c, Chapter 3).

4.5.4 *Multivalency of Symbols*

Many deities who are functionally equivalent and have shared iconographic forms is known by different names. Lakṣmī, the brahmanical goddess of prosperity is known in Buddhism as Vasudhara. Her popular form is Kumārī. In Nepal Kumārī worship is vital in any religious worship. Similarly Janguli is known in Hinduism as Manasā while the folk name is Jagulei in Orissa. Other instances of multivalency of symbols can only be ascertained by studying the folk deities and their traditional roles. Karuṇāmaya-Matsyendranātha in Nepal is known by different names. Buddhists always refer him as Karuṇāmaya. Others call him *Bugadya* (the village where he spends half the year). Hindus worship as Śiva while the brāhmaṇas of Lalitpur like to relate a story, which illustrates his identify with Kṛṣṇa.

4.5.5 *Any of the combinations*

While Sristkartar-Lokeśvera illustrates an example of borrowing, parallelism and subordination, Mahācīna Tārā/Tārā represents an example of borrowing and parallelism. Similarly, Nilakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara points out the process of borrowing and parallelism at work. In most cases where Buddhism had been the borrower, there seems to be a combination of borrowing-parallelism or borrowing and subordination at work.

4.5.6 *Evidence of Conversion*

Fieldwork reveals many instances where Buddhist deities were converted and worshipped as Hindu divinities in temples of modern Orissa. Now, that Buddhism is totally extinct in Orissa, it is not being possible to identify the exact timing of this process of conversion. More often, the Buddhist divinities are encountered lying on the roadside and are worshipped as goddesses.

Mallman has encountered a Halāhaḷa Lokeśvara, who is worshipped as Brahmā and Sarasvatī (Mallman 1961: 203-20) Goddess Bhaṭṭārika and goddess Maṅgalā, on close iconographic examination, reveal to be Tārā. A Śiva *liṅgam* in Soro in Balasore district is inscribed with a Buddhist *dhāraṇi* (De 1953:271-73). Similarly, the Bhāskareśvara *liṅgam* is argued to be an Aśokan pillar (Panigrahi 1986: 314). Panigrahi believes that the conversion took place around 5th century AD when Bhubaneswar was emerging as *Ekamreśvara.* The temporal dimension of the conversion is important for it reveals whether the divinities of Buddhism were converted when Buddhism was still extinct, or it started later in the aftermath of the decline. In the case of the former, which seems to be the case, as suggested by the Bhāskareśvara temple, it might have involved strong resistance from the followers of Buddhism.

4.5.7 *Evidence of Conflation*

The process involves fusion of the elements of two deities into one. One instance of conflation is the Buddhist deity Yamāntaka, who is a conflation of Yama and Antaka (Durgā). Mahāśrī is the conflation of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

4.6 Rituals – the other Arena of Religious Contestation

These processes were not limited to iconography alone. Rather it found expression at many other levels of which rituals and religious observances are most important. They provide evidence of other categories in which such competitions between religions found expressions. The *Kriyā tantras* (One of the four classes of the Tāntric literature) exclusively deal with the everyday aspect of rituals, both at the levels of monks and laity. Jaini postulates that one distinguishing distinctions between Buddhism and Jainism aw well as reasons for the decline of Buddhism is relative the absence of asceticism among the Buddhist laity. (Jaini 1975: 27).

The *Kriyā tantras,* however, provide clear evidence of the prevalence of rituals and corresponding observances in Buddhism. They deal with the rituals of the Mahāyānist cult, which include the erection of *stūpas,* construction and setting up of images, *stotras* and daily observances. Among the *Kriyā tantras,* the *Ādikarma Pradīpa,* fashioned on the mould of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* and the *Karma Pradīpa* (an example of borrowing and parallelism) describes the ceremonies and religious acts which include initiation of a layman to monkhood, sprinkling, worship and prayers, rituals and evening devotions, offering of waters to the departed, alms-giving, meals, worshipping of the Buddha and other sacred beings, reading of the Prajñāpāramitā by the beginners (Poussin 1898: 177-232). *Abhisekha* rituals became integral to the initiation into Vajrāyāna, so also many *homavidhis.* The *Vajraśekhara-homavidhi* was composed based upon the *Vajraśekharatantra* (Nakamura 1987: 330).

The *Astamīvrata-vidhāna* contains the rules for the performances of ceremonies to be observed on every eighth day of every half month (Winternitz 1983 II 400). Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara is the main object of worship on the *astamīvrata.* The *Kriyāṣaṁgraha-Pañjika* by Kukladaita in which detailed prescriptions are given for the erection of monasteries is probably also a ritual work of similar nature. (Shastri 1927: 119 ff.). The *Upasodha Avadāna* deals with *upasotha* by the laity and its merits (Mitra 1981: 265). It refers to Upasotha (*Upavasatha*) day when the host arranges for celebration of the day by inviting monks to his house. After the completion of rituals, the host (a laity) comes to the priests and after a salutation invites them to the festival (Takakusu 1966: 38). *Vasundhāra-Vratotpatti-Avadāna* (NS 923) speaks of the origin of a fast in honour of a goddess named Vasundhārā. The goddess claims three-fold form of Vasundharā or the Earth, Mahā Lakṣmī or Great Prosperity and Kumārī, the Virgin (Mitra 1981: 269-73). Apart from these text-based observances, there were numerous periodic festivals celebrations, which provided impetus to communities. Fa-hein referred to such festivals (one in Pātāḷīputra that is held in his accounts).

Other aspects where such shared idioms found manifestations were the *mahātmyas, stotras,* etc. which were written in specific genre akin to the *Purāṇas.* The following gives a list of such *mahātmyas* and litany.

Table 4.2 : Important *Stotras* dedicated to Buddhist Deities

Stotras	Nature and dedicated to	Author	Ref. (Winterniz 1983: 362-386)
Suprabhāta-stotra	A morning hymn in praise of Buddha in twenty-four verses	Harsa	
Aṣṭamahā-sricaitya-stotra	A hymn in praise of the eight great shrines in five stanzas	Ascribed to Harṣa	—
Lokēsvara śataka	Hundred stanzas in praise of Lokeśvara	Vajradatta in Devapala's reign (9th century AD)	—
Paramārthanama saṅgiti	A litany of an enumeration of names and laudatory epithets of Buddha	?	Mitra 1981:185
Ārya -Tārā sragdhārā stotra	A *stotra* in *sragdhārā* metre in praise of Tārā in thirty-seven verses	Sarvajñanamitra of Kashmir (8th-9th century AD)	Winternitz vol. II
Ekaviṁśati strotra	Hymn dedicated to Tārā in twenty-one verses	?	Wayman 1959: 36-43
Ārya tārā nāmastotra-śataka-stotra	Long of praise consisting of 108 names of the goddess Ekajata Arya Tārā	?	Mitra 1981: 259-60
Vasudhārā sattota-ttarasatanāma	108 epithets forming a hymn in praise of Vasudhara	?	Mitra:1981: 274
Sapta-buddha stotra	Praises of the seven *Manusi* Buddha	?	Winternitz

4.7 Contestation within Brāhmanical Religion

These aspects of contestations, which operated in very subtle way was not limited to Buddhism alone. Rather it found its expression in Brāhmanism, which was

camouflaged as evidence of syncretism. One notable example of such domination-subordination syndrome in the guise of syncretism is the architecture of Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar.

The Liṅgarāja temple (11th century AD) is the most grandiose edifice proclaiming Śaiva presence in coastal Orissa in general and Bhubaneswar in particular. Bhubaneswar is one of the important Śaiva centres of early medieval India and the place was known as Ekāmra (*Brahma Purāṇa* I: 230-1). However, when the Jagannātha cult centring around the present temple at Puri started dominating the religious landscape of Orissa (particularly after Anangabhimadeva III declared himself as the servant of the lord in 1230), there was an attempt to superimpose Vaiṣṇava-Jagannātha, its motifs and symbols on a Śaiva centre which remains camouflaged in syncretism of Hari-Hara.

During the Gaṅgā period (12th century to 14th century), *nātamandira* and the *bhogamaṇḍapa* were added to the Liṇgarāja temple and so also the *Vṛṣa-stambha* (the bull pillar), which now stands in front of the *bhogamaṇḍapa.* This pillar bears at the top not only a *vṛṣhava* (bull)—the mount of Śiva but Garuḍa the mount of Viṣṇu. This deliberate superimposition continues in the crowning members (above the *kalaśa*) of the Liṅgarāja temple. The crowning members of the Liṅgarāja, seen from a distance, are the *āyudha* (weapon) and *patākā* (flag). The *āyudha,* which would have been originally a triśūla (trident) a symbol of Śiva was replaced by half-disc and a half -trident.

The tradition says that a man at the order of a Gaṅgā king climbed to the top of the *śikhara* in the dead end of the night and pulled down the original *āyudha* and replaced it by above composite *āyudha* proclaiming deliberate syncretism. The man is said to have been granted tax-free lands and was given the title *Nisaṅkamalla* (the fearless hero) which is still borne by his descendants now in Nuapalli village in Bhubaneswar.

The tradition reveals an attempt of domination by the Vaiṣṇava cult in the guise of syncretism. This encompassment found manifestations in numerous sculptures of the period. It varied in form in different time and space; between the sixth century and ninth century, Buddhist-Tāntric influences were evident on the Śaivism of Orissa, in the post-Somavamsi period, the Vaiṣṇava dominance was quite discernible over Śaivism.

A favourite mode of representing Lakulīśa in the first period in Bhubaneswar (evident in Parsurameswar temple) is to show him as the Buddha in the great miracle of Śrāvastī. Like the latter, Lakulīśa is seated on a double-petalled lotus being raised upon by two *Nāga* kings and his hands in *dharmacakrapravartana mudrā (*turning of the wheel pose). In some reliefs, even two deer and the wheel are carved on the pedestal clearly indicating Buddhist influence. In this period the Tāntric influence was discernible in both brāhmanical religions.

In the Vaitala temple (9th century AD) (where goddess Cāmuṇḍā is the presiding deity) there was an attempt at inclusivism by including deities of different pantheon, which include Lakulīśa, Maṇibhadra and Amoghasiddhi. Similarly in the Śiśireśvara

temple (assigned to the same period), one encounters images of Avalokiteśvara suggesting attempts to subsume some Buddhist deities within Śaivism.

4.8. Appropriation and Accommodation of Buddhism in Brāhmanical Religions

There was also an attempt to develop a composite deity combining the attributes of Śiva, Buddha as in Java and Bali.[13] A composite image of Hari-Hara (now in the Gupta gallery of Indian Museum, Calcutta) shows the four-armed Hari-Hara at the centre the backhands carrying a trident and a conch-shell and the front hands a skull-cup and a discuss. He bears the other usual features and there are some attendants by his side. What is unique about the image is the presence of Sūrya and Buddha in the left and right of the main sculpture.

The halos around the image of Buddha and Sūrya and the lotus pedestal on which the former stands indicates that the Buddha was represented as an equal deity (unlike many Buddhist sculptures where brāhmanical gods were assigned subordinate and inferior positions (Banerjea 1985: pl. XLVIII Fig 1).

Two other sculptures, now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta are a carved brass figure of Śiva-Lokeśvara and another image of Sūrya-Lokeśvara. The brass figure of Śiva-Lokeśvara shows the composite two armed ithyphallic god standing on the *Samapādasthānaka* pose on a double-petalled lotus, his right hand holds up a *kapāla* and the left a *triśūla*, he is very sparsely ornamented and bears on the top his *Jaṭāmukuṭa* a tiny seated figure of Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha to whose family Avalokiteśvara belongs (Banerjea: 1985: 547, pl. XLVI Fig 4).

A fragmentary relief from Orissa shows the representation of Sūrya - Lokeśvara. The composite god appears to have been ten-armed. Six of whose hands are gone, of the remaining two hands the two rights hold a noose and a full-blown lotus flower by its stalk and another unidentified object. The tiny figure of *Dhyāni* Buddha Amitābha seated on the top of the raised coils of the *Jaṭāmukuṭa* indicates Lokeśvara character of the god while the full blown lotus held by his parallel hands on either side is a manner in which they are shown in the hands of a north Indian Sun icon emphasises his solar nature. The figure is dated to 11th century (Banerjea 1985: 548).

This process was also reflected in the literary texts as well. Bodh Gayā—the most sacred pilgrim centre for the Buddhist as well as centre for Hindus provides interesting vignettes about inter-religious relationship, particularly between Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. Xuanzang records that a *brāhmaṇa* had built the Buddhist *vihāra* at Bodh Gayā. "On the site of the present *vihāra* Aśokarāja first built a small *vihāra*. Afterwards there was a *brāhmaṇa* who constructed it on a large scale." (Beal 1958: 119) The *brāhmaṇa* at first was not a believer of Buddha but on Lord Śiva's advice he returned and built the *vihāra* and his younger brother excavated the tank *(ibid)*. An important sculpture containg an inscription reveals attempt to articulate the inter-religious relationship in a manner so as to contain sectarian conflict but simultaneously, but it offers insights into attempts to superimpose a religion (in this case Śaivism) in a Buddhist complex. The sculpture represents Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, all in very crude fabric (Cunningham 1892: pl. XXVIII 3).

The inscription on it refers to the dedication of a figure of *Caturmukhī* Mahādeva who was installed in the "pleasant abode, the temple of the Buddha, the lord of righteousness" by Keśava, son of Ujjavala, the stone cutter "for the benefits of the descendants of the *snātakas*" (the erudite Śaivite Brahmin scholar) residing at Mahābodhi. A tank of exceeding depth and holy river Gaṅges has been excavated for this good people at the cost of thousand drachmas" (*ASIAR* vii 1908-09:139-58). The inscription belongs to the reign of Dharmapala's reign (8th century AD). It reveals the subtle way in which brāhmanical religions were imported to the most sacred Buddhist monument. It at once acknowledges the importance of Buddha but simultaneously it attempted superimposition and take over by the Śaivite.

Similarly, the Vaiṣṇavas acknowledged Buddhist presence in Gayā. The tradition here is that Viṣṇu here was born as Lord Buddha. The Vaiṣṇava at first did not identify Viṣṇu with Buddha but with the sacred Bodhi tree, which to the pious Buddhist still forms the centre of the universe. The *Prayogas* or books on ritual prescribed for Vaiṣṇava pilgrims at Gayā and the sacred *tīrthas* in its neighbourhood offers evidence of Buddhist supremacy in the region. In Manirāma's *Gayā yātrā* (*MS III ASB Sanskrit Manuscript* D, 27 fol. 17 A), the pilgrim's visit to Bodh Gayā on the fourth day of his pilgrimage to holy centre is described in the following manner. "Thereafter, he should bow down before the Dharma, Dharmeśvara and the Mahābodhi tree in the due order. On this occasion the following verses should be recited." "Adoration to the noble *asvastha*, the Bodhi tree whose soul is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva (as means) of saving our dead ancestors and makers. The relations in my own and in my mother's family who have gone to hell, may they all come to heaven forever through seeing and touching tree. Oh noble tree, I have paid off a three-fold debt by coming to Gayā. May I be saved from the ocean of rebirth through the favours." Verses like these are found in other manuscripts like *Gayanu-Sthāna-Paddhati* (*ASB Sanskrit Manuscript* MS D 26).

The evidence points out the subtle manner in which Bodh Gayā was appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas through the *Pipalla* (Bodhi tree), which is sacred to the Vaiṣṇava as well. The epigraphic, textual and sculptural evidence quoted above reveal two trends simultaneously at work. On the one hand, there is a ready acknowledgement of dominance of a particular cult in a particular space, on the other, there are attempts to elbow out, push back the dominant sect/religion from the place and replace it by a rival sect or religion.

The degree of superimposition and appropriation varied in different contexts depending on the popularity of the existing cults, its embededness in the cultural milieu, its support system and degree of patronage by the ruling elite. The *Gayāmahātmya's* acknowledgement of the Buddhist presence in Gayā speaks of the former trend (*i.e.* acknowledgement of the supremacy) while the inscription, which describes installation of a Caturmukhī Śiva, reveals a superimposition on the Buddhist Bodh Gayā, which later on was complete with the taking over by the Mahābodhi temple by the Śaiva *mahantas*. Similarly, the *Ekamrakṣetra*, which was a Śaiva centre, came under attempted Vaiṣṇava domination. The *Ekamra Purāṇa*—a text of 12th-13th

century AD, prescribes that the pilgrim should visit the Vaiṣṇava temple of Ananta-Vasudeva (built by the Gaṅgās) before paying homage to Liṅgarāja (18th and 25th chapters, *Ekāmra Purāṇa* 1933).

The *Ekāmra Purāṇa* narrates a story of the accommodation of Vaiṣṇava deity at *Ekāmrakṣetra* (Panigrahi 1986: 345) but the *Kapilasaṁhitā*, written during the reign of Prataparudradeva (16th century AD), gives a contrasting view narrating that Vāsudeva fixed the abode of Śiva at *Ekāmra* (Bhubaneswar). Thus the former, which is a Śaiva text, makes concessions to a Vaiṣṇava deity in a predominantly Saiva culture, where as the latter provides evidence of attempts at giving a superior position to Vaiṣṇavas vis-ë-vis Śaivites at a Śaiva centre. As noted earlier, the presence of *Garuḍa* with bull in front of the *bhogamaṇḍapa* of the Liṅgarāja temple, change over of the *āyudha* at the top of the Liṅgarāja, the tradition association with the change as well as the *Kapilasaṁhitā's* narration of the story of the origin of the *Ekāmrakṣetra* clearly suggest an endeavour at Vaiṣṇava superimposition.

There is another evidence of such an appropriation by a rival cult. Tārā is spoken in the *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara of (9th century AD) as a form of Chaṇḍī who originated in the origin of the Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, and who is said to have been amidst lotus bosom (Handique 1965: 548). Saralā Das's *Caṇḍī Purāṇa* (the author of the Oriya *Mahābhārata*) speaks of Ugra Tārā as a Yoginī emanating from the Devī the great goddess of Hinduism (Sarala Das *Caṇḍī Purāṇa*, ORP 101 folio 201-202). Another example of deliberate syncretism is the *Twenty one Praises of Tārā*, which had liberally borrowed from Saivism and give an appearance of a hymn of Saivite nature (Wayman 1959: 36-43). Nagaraju also refers to similar attempt to incorporate Buddhism within Vaiṣṇavīsm in Karnataka (Nagaraju 1969: 67-75).

These processes of appropriation of Buddhism had begun long ago as Xuanzang observes that he saw hundred monasteries in Kashmir but the religion followed in them was mixed hinting thereby that the people worshipped both Śiva and Buddha (Dutta1939 I: 36-37). Xuanzang also observed a similar process in Orissa, when he referred: "there are above hundred monasteries and myriad brethren all Mahāyānist, of Deva temples, there were fifty and the various sects lived pell-mell." (Watters1905 II: 193)

These evidence which show attempted appropriation and dominance of rival religious centres and deities of rival sects/religions operated within the boundary of shared cultural space. These competing religions and sects shared certain baseline concepts, used similar idioms, and engaged in common cultural practices. Simultaneously, they engaged in contestations to broaden their support base and religious territory by borrowing the locomotifs of their rival religions and presenting it in a manner to give an appearance of their distinct religious hues.

The Vaiṣṇavas liberally borrowed the Buddhist ideas of *Śūnya*. The Vaiṣṇava poets of Orissa in the 16th century AD employed numerous Buddhist terminologies in their poetic expressions (Balarāma Das's *Virāta Gītā*, Acyutānanda in *Śūnya Saṁhitā*). Despite these healthy competitions in a shared cultural and geographical space, there were occasional flare-ups in sectarian bellicosity. The *Dharmapūjā-vidhāna* refers to

the *sadharmis* and the Buddhists of the Jajpur region of Orissa who are said to have been persecuted by the brāhmaṇas (Bhattacharyya 1994: 334). The *Caitanya Bhagabata* composed by Iswar Dash towards the end of the 16th century AD records a tradition as how Anaṅgabhimadeva sided with Brahmins and clubbed thirty-two Buddhists when they failed to satisfy him in answering a test (Panigrahi 1986: 312). The *Maḍalāpañjī* (the Jagannātha temple chronicle) records a similar story of the persecution of the Buddhists by Madana Mahādeva, who is represented in the text as a brother of Anaṅgabhimadeva (*ibid*).

4.9. Emergence of the Jagannātha Cult and its Implication

These processes of contestations through coexistence ended with the emergence of the Jagannātha cult and a regional state under the Gaṅgās and the Gajapatis (12th-15th century AD). The Jagannātha temple centring on the present temple at Puri became a regional/imperial deity under the Gaṅgās, particularly after Anaṅgabhimadeva-III declared himself to be the *rāuta* (servant) of the Lord Jagannātha and the latter as the real ruler of the state of Orissa in 1230 AD.[14]

This identification with the deity as the real ruler and the king as merely earthly representatives had great bearings on the religio-cultural landscape of Orissa. From 12th century AD onwards, the state-sponsored Jagannātha cult assumed a hegemonic contour. It displayed inclusivism in its acceptance of diverse cultural traditions. Balabhadra, one of the triad who was included in the present complex sometime during the 13th century AD was regarded as a form of Śiva. Lord Jagannātha is regarded as a form of Viṣṇu in numerous texts and his principal *mantra Oṁ Gopijanhavallabhāya svāhā* reminds us of his Kṛṣṇa connection. Sometimes he is regarded as *Mahābhairava* suggesting Śaivite affiliation (Stietencron 1978 119-23). In the Nepalese *Svayambhu Purāṇa*, Ādi Buddha, described as the nature of ultimate substance (*dharma-dhātu*) and often conceived as Vairocana, is equated with Jagannātha (Bhattacharyya 1994: 334). In the works of early Vaiṣṇava saints of Orissa, Buddha is often equated with Jagannātha as in the *Mahābhārata* of Saralā Dās, the *Dāru Brahma Gītā* of Jagannātha Dasa and the *Śūnya-saṁhitā* of Acyutananda Dasa. Sarala Dasa even gives a Buddhist background of the origin of Jagannātha. Lord Kṛṣṇa's body could not be burnt on the funeral pyre. The body was thrown into the sea near Dvārakā. It came floating to Puri and remained in the custody of the *sabara* for sometime to become a tree later mysteriously, out of which a statue was carved in the form of Buddha.

Buddha is the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu who follows Kṛṣṇa, who is the eighth incarnation (Tripathi 1978: 479-481).[15] In the dancing hall of the Jagannātha temple one finds the figure of Jagannātha replacing Buddha as the ninth *avatar* of Viṣṇu. Goddess Bimala became an integral part of the temple complex and its rituals. She accepts sacrifice, which betrays Tantric goddess influences in a Vaiṣṇava complex. The tribal-Tāntric tradition is further evidenced from Jagannātha's association with Narasiṁha. Jagannātha is worshipped with Narasiṁha *mantra* in *navakalevara* (new embodiment) ceremony. The emergence and growth of Jagannātha as an imperial cult resulted in superimposition of Vaiṣṇava features on other cults of Orissa. The

Koṇārka temple of Orissa has preserved a sculpture of Jagannātha being worshipped by Narasimadeva—the chief patron of the Koṇārka-Sūrya Temple. Similarly, as noted earlier, the Liṅgarāja temple was subject to such Vaiṣṇava superimposition.

The growth of a regional tradition centring on Jagannātha and the emergence and development of a regional kingdom under the Gaṅgās and the Gajapatis resulted in the relative marginalisation of other cults and religions in post-12 century AD. The state-sponsored inclusivistic Jagannātha cult engaged with other cult centres through various ritual means and positioned itself vis-ë-vis other cults to emerge at the centre of the religions of Orissa.[16]

The religious landscape in the early medieval period offered a study in contrast with what followed subsequently. The period between 7th - 12th century AD showed remarkable experimentation with iconography (in Buddhism and Hinduism), appropriation and integration of tribal cults as in the case of Stambheśvari, Parṇasabari, Gokarṇeśvara, great upsurge in the construction in the religious structures (both brahmanical temples and Buddhist religious structures), inclusion of popular Tāntric features (as in Tāntric Hinduism and Vajrayāna) and the popularity of the goddess tradition as found expression in the *Saptamātṛkā*, 64-*yoginīs* and a number of Buddhist female deities. This was halted (Hinduisation of goddess tradition is the only exception) in the post-Jagannātha phase. It is to be noted that no significant temple (other than Jagannatha and goddess temples) was constructed in the Gajapati and post- Gajapati period in Orissa.[17] Plurality of patronage (instead of an overarching political system favouring a particular cult as in the post-Gaṅgā/Jagannātha phase) was a significant cause for the religious dynamism of early medieval period. Differentiated structure created sufficient momentum for some vibrant dynamics of competition to prevail among various sects/religions.[18] This was disrupted when a state backed only a singular cult. The pre-Gaṅgā period (particularly between 7th-10th century AD) saw different political entities in different parts of Orissa. This political fragmentation and differentiation created possibilities for religious dynamism, political support, choice and freedom. They provided opportunities for diffused patronage for several cults than to a single cult/religion, as happened after the emergence of Jagannātha cult in 13th century AD. The political entities of this period were situated contiguously but were simultaneously engaged in the pursuit of expansion to other units. They supported and patronised different cults simultaneously. However, their contiguity ensured that a political unit could not be immune to changes at the religious sphere and therefore, adjusts its royal policy to cults according to changing religious kaleidoscope. This provided opportunity for different religions to flourish in early medieval Orissa. However, this scope for plurality of patronage and heterogeneity of cult practices ended with the emergence of the Imperial Gaṅgās and imperial cult of Jagannātha. However, it must be said that this was not a significant reason for the decline of Buddhism.

4.10 Decline–Possible Causes

How and why did these monasteries of Orissa disappear in subsequent times?

Even if one accepts that the Vaiṣṇava saints, while popularising the Jagannātha cult, appropriated Buddhist idioms or a state-sponsored inclusivistic Jagannātha cult led to the decline of Buddhism, they do not explain the decline in its entirety. If they were the decisive factors, how did other cults, particularly Śaivism, retain its popularity in Orissa? Despite the Liṅgarāja temple being subject to Vaiṣṇava invasion it continues to remain an important Śaiva centre and in some measure, contests the imperial Jagannātha cult.

Hence, the reasons for the decline of Buddhism are to be located within its structure. One reason could be the monastic nature of Buddhism. Buddhist religious structures were primarily not independent structures (the Kalasan inscription in Java, the Dambal inscription of Karnataka however, refer to temples of Tārā.) but parts of monastic complexes, which were subject to Muslim invasion. The destruction of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā led to the fleeing of Buddhist monks to Tibet (Shastri 4). Tārānath also referred to Turuska invasion implying Muslim invasion of the Buddhist monasteries of Bihar and Bengal (Tārānatha: 137-38). It is to be noted that the decline of Buddhism in Orissa coincided with a phase of development and flourishing of Buddhism in Tibet and Nepal.

The monastic-centric nature of Buddhist religious structure was a handicap vis-a-vis brāhmanical temple. Unlike the brahmanical temples, which were embedded within socio-economic niches of micro and sub regions, the Buddhist *vihāra* were elaborate structures, which required vast amount of resources to sustain them. Moreover, the monastic nature also meant that they were less embedded with various micro and meso regions.

Another significant factor for the decline of Buddhism in general is its inability to come to terms with folk practices. Eschmann has conceptualised the steps in which tribal-folk deities have been transformed into a Hindu deity (Eschmann 1978:79-99).[19] A visit along the road reveals the process of transformation at work in Orissa. Numerous village goddesses are now integrated to brahmanical religions, the most recent being Tārini. The most significant one from our point is Stambheśvari, who as a wooden goddess is now the presiding deity of a temple in Ganjam (*ibid.*). Hinduism easily accepts these folk practices as low form of Hinduism. Buddhism also tried to appropriate and accept them as part of Buddhist pantheon. The fierce goddesses, such as Parṇasabari are instances of such incorporation and acceptance. But the incorporation and the corresponding position allotted to them in the Buddhist scheme were some what frozen after 7th-8th century AD. The schematic arrangements of Buddhist pantheon prevent quick and easy incorporation of autochthonous elements.

Rather the integration came from the above, which neatly developed the Buddhist pantheon keeping their eyes on the support base of their religion. In contrast, the assimilation of folk deities into Hinduism always started from below. It is later in the evolution of the deity that the brāhmanical Hinduism integrates it into its fold, introduced rituals and *bīja mantra* for regular worship, invented myth and tradition to integrate it with high tradition Hinduism. The process seems to be the bottom to

top rather than from top to bottom, as in case of Buddhism. This provided Hinduism a decisive leverage in capturing people at the lower level who always constitute the important segment in the sustenance and longevity of a mass religion. The monastic-centric Buddhism was a big handicap in this regard.

REFERENCES

1. Edward Conze's argument that the monks alone go through a phase of initiation and therefore, they are the only Buddhist in the proper sense of the term. Male members of Vajrācāryas and Śākyācāryas of Nepal go through a phase of initiation in monasteries.
2. Many of the Bhaumakāra rulers proclaimed that they had restored and upheld cast system. For example the Neulpur grant of Subhakara records that *Paramasaugāta* Śubhakara II established the *varṇaśrama* in its golden age purity in strict accordance with the scriptures (Mishra 1934: 1-7).
3. Chinnamastā's Buddhist origin is discussed in the previous section.
4. Mañjūśrī is worshipped as Kārtikeya. This god is knowledge and learning is represented in the *Guhyasamaja-tantra* as Kārtikeya. In the *Mañjūśrīmudrākalpa*, Mañjūśrī is called Kārtikeya, Mañjūśrī (*dvitya-duara samjpe Kārtikeya Mañjūśrī Mayūrāsana*). (*Guhyasamāj tantra*: XXVII).
5. Kubera/Jāmbhala: Like pot-bellied Kubera Jambhala's iconographic form is represented a pot-bellied man. Kubera holds a bag of treasure but Jambhala holds a mongoose which vomits jewels.
6. Nārāyaṇa/Śrīstkartara Lokeśvara: The Buddhist god having one face and two hands is depicted with gods coming out of his body which suggests a clear copy from Śrīstkartara Lokeśvara. An image of the deity with Hindu gods emitting from it appears on the gold window of the Lalitpur royal palace. At first glance his form is very similar to the Hindu icon of Nārāyaṇa or Ardhanārīśvra surrounded by ten *avatāras* (*e.g.* parallelism, subordination).
7. *Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara:* He is like Śiva whose throat has become blue after churning the poison of Vāsuki. The Buddhist iconographic texts describe purely in terms of the description of Śiva as wearing a tiger skin, having a blue throat by poison and flanked by cobras (borrowing, parallelism).
8. *Saptamātṛkā/Hāriti:* The mother goddess who carries a baby in her lap. Hāriti holds a child. She is regarded as goddess of fecundity.
9. *Mañjūśrī/Sarasvatī:* Śrī Pañcamī is celebrated as a festival of Mañjūśrī and Sarasvatī for skill and learning.
10. *Śrī Lakṣmī/Kumāri/ Vasudhārā:* The functional equivalent of Śrī-Lakṣmī in Buddhism was Vasudhārā. The *Vashundharā-Vratopatti Arādhanā*, a Sanskrit Buddhist text copied in NS 923 AC (1802 AD) claims that the goddess assumes three fold form of Vasudhārā or the Mahā-Lakṣmī or the great prosperity and Kumārī, the Viraja. The *Sādhanamālā*'s description of Vasudhārā clearly matches with the iconographic form of Lakṣmī.
11. Sūrya- Mārīcī : She is the goddess of dawn and is having a chariot drawn either by horses or by boars.
12. *Viṣṇu Hayagrīva/ Saptasatika Hayagrīva:* Hayagrīvā, according to the Purāṇic mythology was primarily a demon to kill whom Viṣṇu assumed the form of a horse-headed man. The special cognisance of the Saptasatika Hayagrīva is the scalp of a horse over his head. Iconographic description of the deity in the Sādhanamāklā closely resembles with Viṣṇu Hajo-Hayagrīva temple of Assam (Jaiswal 1985: 1-14).

13. The Baudha *stutis* of Bali have considerable Śaiva admixture. Hooykas has observed that some of them make the impression of purely Śaiva, while the others are shared by the Bauddhas and Śaivas. He further notices that *dukuh* priest of Bali was represented in three varieties. Śaiva, Bauddha and Śaiva-Buddha. In important ceremonial feasts one finds four Śaiva and one Buddhist priests. Similarly at the cremation of princes, the consecration of water of the two sects are mingled together. In two important Śaiva rituals, particularly important to note is their role in the *Ekādaśa Rudra* ceremony, which is celebrated once in a century (Hooykas 1973: 8, 177).
14. Kulke also argues that the year in which Anaṅgabhimadeva declared himself to be the *rauta* (servant) ruling the kingdom in the order (*adeśa*) of the god Puruṣottama marks a decisive event in the history of Orissa (Kulke 1993:17).
15. Where as early scholars like Hunter and Cunningham believed that Jagannātha evolved from Buddhism, G C Tripathi opines that the association of Jagannātha with Buddha is more to the fact both stood outside the pale of Brāhmanism. The Buddha incarnation, not so firmly established in Hindu tradition, would also be the one most easily dislodged for the sake of Jagannātha when he was added as an incarnation (Tripathi 1978: 479).
16. Vertical integration of deities and cult centres has been studied by James Preston, who makes a topological classification of deities from village to imperial level, the network of relationship among them and the process through which such networks were established One instance of such ritual integration with important sub-regional cults of Orissa is Jagannātha's association with Maṅgalā of Kakatpur (Preston 1992: 78-112).
17. An interesting study in this regard will be to conduct an enquiry about the construction of temples from 15th century AD onward.
18. The cultural explosion in Renaissance period in Europe in 15th century AD owes much to the competitions among the city-states, who vied with each other to proclaim their superiority over others by patronising scholars, painters and by beatifying their cities. Such competition provided opportunities for scholars to get patronage.
19. Eschmann has conceptualised the transformation of symbol to image – from Aniconism to iconic and integration into Hinduism as involving five stages aniconic symbol invested with vermilion, irregular worship, ritual specialist in the form of *dehuri*, followed by temples, regular worship and daily rituals consisting of *gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya,* and *snāna* (Eschmann 1978: 79-88).

Chapter - 5

SUPPORT SYSTEM

5.1 Patronage in Early Medieval Historiography

The expansion of Buddhism, both horizontally and vertically, as dealt in Chapter 2 and 3 could be the result of a stable support system that enabled Buddhism to sustain and grow between 5th to 12th centuries AD. The epigraphic records of the period refer to the emergence of a number of small principalities trying to expand their political base, both through outright annexation as well through a complex web of relationship (*maṇḍalas*), the exact nature of which is not known. The ruler of these small principalities were granting donation to religious establishments of which we have epigraphic evidence in the form of copper plates. Most of these copperplate grants record donations by the political elite to *brāhmaṇas*, brāhmanical temples and establishments. These records further refer to the religious affiliation of rulers and donee. On the basis of their existence as well on the basis of existing temples – the beginning of Kaliṅga-style temple architecture – it is argued by scholars like Kulke and Sharma that the period saw the dominance of brāhmanical religion and corresponding displacement and decline of Buddhism. Royal patronage is ascribed as the major cause of the growth of brāhmanical religions. The *brāhmaṇas*, it is suggested, were, in return, performing political roles in the form of formulating royal genealogy and employing other means, which facilitated royal legitimation. From 12th century AD when the Gaṅgas came and annexed entire Orissa to form a regional kingdom, one sees the emergence of an imperial kingdom and an imperial cult in the form of Jagannātha cult. The imperial cult, the identification of the rulers with the cult by declaring that he was the representative of the lord, the symbolic and ritual linkage of the cult with other religious centres as well as its economic base introduced a qualitative shift in religious map of Orissa. However, the historical evidence between 5th and 12th centuries AD does not support generally accepted assumptions about early medieval Orissa. These assumptions include the followings: 1. The kings patronised Brāhmanical temples only, and 2. Land grants to *brāhmaṇas* resulted in the emergence of hegemonic brāhmanical religions and decline of Buddhism.

Three important issues regarding support system of the period require in-depth study. Firstly how is support system to be viewed? A corollary of such a question is the nature of royal patronage. The second issue is the nature of institutions of Buddhism and brāhmanical religion – principally *saṅghas* and temples – and what functions

they were performing in general which linked them to their social eco-niches? And lastly, how self-sustaining were these religious establishments?

Existing historiography deals with the support system of the religion largely from the perspectives of political patronage. Patronage is seen as a tool, which was employed by the political elites of the day, to get political legitimation, extend hegemony and expand resource base of their kingdom. Cult assimilation and appropriation are considered as means to gain the required legitimation in the eyes of the conquered people. Land grants to *brāhmaṇas* were made to contrive genealogy that could bestow legitimacy to their rule (Kulke1978).

Did royal patronage play the key role in the growth and sustenance of religious establishments or, the support base was more generalised in our period of study? Or, could royal patronage be seen only from the perspective of exclusive attachment to a particular cult centre or religion excluding other religion and establishments? With regard to latter question it can be postulated that royal patronage was across the religious spectrum rather than being exclusive. For instance, Xuanzang's account on Harṣa's religious affiliation and support to Buddhism is not borne from the epigraphic records, which described him as a Śaiva. Similarly, the Buddhist Bhaumakaras made liberal donation to *brāhmaṇas*, brāhmanical religious establishments. And as the reconstruction of sculptural and architectural evidence suggests (dealt in Chapter 3), the largest Buddhist sculptures in Orissa belong to 9th-11th century AD, when the Śaivite Somavaṁśis were constructing gigantic Śiva temples.

The epigraphic evidence on the basis of which religio-cultural history of the period is reconstructed can at times lead to misleading generalisation. It is argued in existing historiography that *agrahara brāhmaṇa* settlements popularised brāhmanical ideals and religions in the donated and surrounding areas. The following table – a compilation of selected inscriptions of the Bhaumākaras (8th-10th Century AD) – provides interesting vignettes of epigraphy–archaeology dysynchrony. The epigraphic record points out donation of certain villages to *brāhmaṇas*, which on archaeological enquiry, turned out to contain many Buddhist remains.

Table 5.1: Selected Inscriptions of the Bhaumākaras (736–930 AD)

Name of the inscription	*Donor and his religious affiliation*	*Donee and his religious affiliation*	*What is donated*	*Modern identification donated settlements*	*Archaeological remains found in those settlements (dates of the sculptures and structures given in Chapter 3)*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
Cāmuṇḍā image Inscription of Vatsasdevī	Vatsasdevī, a queen of the Bhaumākara dynasty	—	Image of Cāmuṇḍā	—	Jajpur is abounding with religious shrines of early and medieval period Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist sculptures from 6th to 12th centuries AD are found. However, it is known as a *Śākta* centre

Neulpur plate of Śubhakaradeva	*Paramasaugāta* Śubhakaradeva II	To *brāhmaṇas*	Three villages: Komparaka, Daṇḍaki and Yoka. It seems that two villages were combined into one large *brāhmaṇa*	settlement Kupari in division of undivided Balasore district	Traces of residential caves indicating the presence of a monastery in the place. Images of Tārā Avalokiteśvara and Dhyāni Buddha. (Beams 1871).
Neulpur Plate of Śubhakaradeva	Subhakaradeva, *Paramasaugatā*	To two hundred *brāhmanas*	Komparaka and Solanapura	The place is identified with Solampur near Jajpur. Mentioned in the Ratnagiri Plate of King Karṇa of the Somavaṁśī dynasty. Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. Two armed Avalokiteśvara, Three-headed image of Tārā, Chlorite image of Vajrasattva. Image of Eight miracles of Buddha, dated to 9th–10th century AD (Appendix 1: Chapter 3)	
Khadipadā image inscription of the time of Śubhakaradeva	*Mahamaṇḍalācārī* Rahulacāri, who is adept in *maṇḍalas*	—	Completion of an image of Avalokiteśvara	Dhamnagar P. S in Bhadrak subdivision of undivided Balasore district Remains of a *stūpa* A monastery in *catuḥsālā* plan Brāhmanical remains Image of Mahiṣmardinī Durgā, iconographically dated to 8th-9th century AD, A Viṣṇu image, an open hall with monolithic pillars miniature Śiva temples	
Caurāsī plate of Śivakaradeva	*Parama tathāgata*	A *brahmadeya* settlement of Kātāyana *gotra*	Vuvrada *grāma* in Antarudra *viṣaya*	Vuvudra has been identified with Vanvarada, nearly three miles from Caurāsī. The main shrine of Caurāsī is the Varāhi temple. Built in Khakara style (vaulted-wagon style) At Chahata, not far from Caurāsī was found an image of Tārā. (Tripathy 1988). On the other hand Caurāsī preserves Varāhī temple, which is dated to 10th century AD and other Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, which can be dated to 13th century AD.	
Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva III, yr 149.	*Paramamaheśvara*, indicating his religious affiliation.	To a Buddhist establishment in which a Buddhist deity named Buddha-*bhattā-raka* was enshrined.	For the maintenance of the servants of the Buddhist temple For supplying female mendicants with garments, pots, bedstead, medicine and pots for offerings Another share is intended for repair. The third share is for the family of *danapati*. The deed was executed in Jayasrama *vihāra*. A village named Suradhipura, which is identified with Śivadarpur village in Dhenkanal district; Jayasrama *vihāra* is identified with Jagati in Anugul subdivision of Dhenkanal district Jagati abounds with the ruins of brāhmanical and Buddhist remains. (Mishra 1934).		
Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevī (wife of Śantikara- I), yr 110	*Paramavaiṣṇava*	To *brāhmaṇa* Bhatta Jagaddhara who belonged to Bharadvāja *gotra*.	A village named Kontaspara in Olasrama *visaya* in Tosala. Kantapara (20. 8" N; 86. 4" E) is located on the left bank of river Prāci Ruins of Gatīśvara Śiva temple of village Sisua near Kantapara contain a loose image of Trivikrama Viṣṇu. A Bhairava image Another ruined temple, 1. 5 miles from Kantapara contains a deity who displays the canopy of seven hooded snake over head, *akṣṛamālā* in the right hand and *abhaya mudrā* in the left (Tripathy 1988).		

Kumarang plate of Daṇḍī Mahādevī, yr. 187 (923 AD)	*Paramamaheśvarī* Daṇḍī Mahādevi	To *brāhmaṇas* of different *gotras*	A village named Kamantasaranagari in Khidingahara *viṣaya* in Kongoda *maṇḍala* in Dakṣiṇa Tosala Kumarang near Banpur in Puri district. Achutarajpur-Banpur area reveals archaeological antiquities belonging to local, brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jaina cults. Achutarajpur yielded 95 bronze images: 75 icons are of Buddhist nature, ten Jaina and five of brāhmanical nature. The Tikiria temple near tahsil office preserves two images of very antique date. The presiding deity of the temple is a Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, locally worshipped as Tikirīa. The other image worshipped as Tarīnī is an Ugra Tārā of Buddhism. The niche of wall of the Dakṣeśvara Śiva temple preserves a stray Lokeśvara image of Buddhist pantheon. On the other hand Nārāyaṇī preserves an image of 9th century AD Mahiṣamardinī image.
Terinda copper plate	Subhakara I, *paramasaugāta*	To six *brāhmaṇas* of the village of Tārāmaṇḍapa and belonged to Bharadvāja *gotra*	Lavagandi *grāma* situated in Svatntrakurbha *vissaya*	Not properly identified but scholars suggest that it must be in Anugul district. Other details The king though is described as a devout Buddhist who boasts to have maintained social order in strict accordance with the *Śāstras.*
Haṁseśvara temple inscription	Madhavidevī, ~~wife~~ of Śubhakara (probably a Śaiva)		Constructed a Śaiva temple and appointed Śaiva *ācāryas* for regular worship as well as established a hatta (market)	Please See chapter 3

As the above table shows, the brāhmanical nature of these land grants does not, *ipso facto*, points to the dominance of brāhmanical religions in those areas. In fact, in early medieval Orissa there were no unequivocal religious statements by the political elite. Whatever may be the personal religion of the ruler, the evidence points to royal donation to different religious establishments. Therefore, the limited nature of copperplate land grants fails to provide a true index of the support system of religion. In early medieval times plurality of political units provided the possibility of patronage from different political elite. To elaborate it further, the period witnessed the growth of a number of small political units, which were trying to expand their political base. If one political unit exclusively identifies with one cult and religion, there was a possibility of patronage from other political units, provided the other cult or religion had a wider social base, and by extending political patronage the ruler expected to gain politically or otherwise.

However, in our view, support system needs to be looked afresh. Rather than dealing with *"who gave what to whom"* with which the study of the support system of Buddhism is hitherto restricted to, it needs to be studied beyond the name of persons and his/her social affiliation to incorporate cultural markers of support system, particularly votive objects and their typologies and distribution.

5.2. Recent Studies and Some Issues

Study of *who gave what to whom* in the context of Buddhism primarily deals with

the early historical period. These studies reveal the changing social context of patronage. For instance, H.P. Ray has shows that the epigraphic records at Kanheri refer to donations from various social groups in the first centuries of Christian era, which (from 4th century AD onwards) was later largely restricted to donations by political elites. She further points out the locational divergence as an important determinant in the number and social context of donations to a particular monastic establishment (Ray 2004: 263). For instance Junnar, which lies on the river Kukdi in a cup-shaped valley surrounded by hills of western Ghat, the donations were largely by locals. On the other hand, Kanheri which was closer to coast and located on the fertile Ullhas belt was abound with donation from a diverse social groups, which includes donation by traders, financiers, goldsmith, a blacksmith, physicians, housewife, etc. (Gokhale 1975: Appendix 2). Royal patronage of Buddhism was dwarfed in quantity, if not by scale, by the gift given by others. In inscriptional records of Sāñcī, royal donors are greatly outnumbered by merchants, craftspeople, farmers, and others, many of them women (Dehejia 1992: 35-45). However, Uma Chakrabarti on the basis of the Vinaya texts and Dehejia and others, on the basis of epigraphic records of Sāñcī, Kanheri and others, refer to the heterogeneous character of the Buddhist patronage in the early historical period.

B.M. Morrison's work on Lalmani is one important work that deals with the social niches of early Medieval Buddhist monastic complex (Morrison, 1973). Based on his analysis of Bengal inscriptions (c. fourth to thirteenth CE), he proposes that there were four subregions within the Bengal Delta. Central, western and northern sectors of the Delta showed evidences of developed property relations and stratified society; in fact they 'were the heartlands of Brahmanical culture in the Delta'. But in the fourth sub-region, Sylhet-Komilla-Chittagong sector (roughly the region referred to as Sāmatata in inscriptions), the pattern was fundamentally different. It was more or less a 'frontier' society with relatively sparse population and large uncultivated or forested landscape, a society that has just made the transition to state level polity. Here huge tracts of lands were granted to the Buddhist monastries or hundreds of Brahmins. Here Buddhist monastries were acting as nuclei of integration, aiding and abetting the transition towards a more complex society.

Two important support groups of Buddhism had been traders and craft specialists about whom scholars have highlighted their attention (Ghosh 1973; Dehejia 1972). However, Morrison has found a weak relationship between monastic establishment and urban centres of western Deccan. (Morrison 2000: 214).

One question that Hietzman addresses is the connection between monastic institutions and donations to it by trading group or other groups. Hietzman has suggested that a symbolic role for the Buddhist institutions constituted a unitary and unifying field for political action in the broad sense. Donation allowed people at various class and status levels within the urban development to express and confirm through ostentatious display (Hietzman 1984: 132). Donation may have served even

more for assertion of aspirations of individuals of different social groups. Hietzman points out that in spite of the apparently equal opportunity aspects of Buddhism, the etiquette of donation preserved status difference between donors. In this analysis, Buddhist monastic institution look much more like later Hindu temples, which received humble and magnificent gifts from a variety of donors whose actions left a public or semi-public record.

This aspect of donation as an assertion of aspiration is very important in understanding the nature of patronage. Two pertinent issues in this regard are the nature of monastic institutions and what were the changes, which were taking place on the ground, which led to the emergence of such aspiring groups.

The first question is very important for it raises the issue of how important was the religious establishment in a particular period? A hypothesis can be postulated: higher the ability of a religious establishment to transcend its local moorings, greater was the probability of it attracting patronage from diverse social groups. That is, whether a religious establishment had risen to the level of an important centre of pilgrimage of at least sub-regional level or confined to local-level religious shrine or a place of local pilgrimage only?

Thus, the issue is the nature of monastic institution. Did it acquire a potency/a magnetic personality, which brought people to the place as a pilgrimage centre? Buddhist sites associated with Buddha's life were invested with such potency and became centres of pilgrimage, which attracted people from different countries. So also Sāñcī, which contains the relic of Buddha's disciple, Maugulāyana. But what is about Ratnagiri, Kanheri and many others, which are not associated with Buddha or his disciple? A pilgrimage place is elevated above ordinary religious establishments, usually because it lays claim to an exaggerated relationship to the divine. The pilgrimage centre must achieve a reputation for having a unique character and offering something available at no other place with which it competes for patronage. If we take votive *stūpa* as an indicator of pilgrim flow, Ratnagiri could compete with the holiest Buddhist site, Bodh Gayā. What did it offer to its pilgrim? Xuanzang said that Puspagiri monastery of Odra radiated a light, which brought people from different places to the centre. I have argued that Padmasambhava was closely associated with Udayagiri (Section 3 III.3 of Chapter 3). But there are constraints on how differentiated a sacred centres can be. It must operate within the known boundaries of its culture. Sacred centre accomplishes this task of balancing between familiarity and differentiation by developing and projecting an image that is a magnifications of some accepted ideals of culture. They represent a higher or more ideal version of what the potential pilgrim already values and seeks by dint of membership in a culture. Cultural intensification of this sort is the central force in the creation, maintenance and success of pilgrim shrines.

This description implies two sorts of fields in which it (pilgrim centre) participates. There is the social field, in which the pilgrimage centre is the locus for

human gathering. Second there is the informational field, in which the pilgrim centre is an encoded message broadcast through the social field in legend, story, song, and poem. The legends, miracle tales, report of cures, stories of saintly lives and also the munificence of donors form the contents of such an informational field. These information fields provide sufficient space to aspiring groups to lay claim to a special position by investing in them. Example of such stories in the context of early medieval Orissa includes Jajati Kesaris' performance of horse sacrifice at Jajpur or Chodagaṅgadeva's order to change the original *āyudha* of the Liṅgarāja temple and replacing it with half-disc and half-trident.

One subject, which needs to be focused more, is the archaeological correlates of a special relationship between pilgrimage beliefs and ritual behaviour. Why is that so many votive *stūpas* are found in south-western corner of Ratnagiri, or the clay sealing with *Gāthās of Causation* in a particular religious establishment! This is important for it might reveal the nature of the religious establishment.

Pilgrim fields define the area within which the centre is known and from which pilgrims are drawn. Where shrines share similar or overlapping fields as in case of triangular *stūpas* of Ratnagiri-Lalitgiri and Udayagiri, they might directly compete for pilgrim trade or more commonly accept a ranking (in which case similar ideals are intensified but are acknowledged to be more concentrated in the higher ranked shrine) or embody differing ideals. The former pattern is more prominent in the context of brāhmanical religions of early medieval periods, where Śaivism and *Vaiṣṇavīsm* coexist with each other in Bhubaneswar (Liṅgarāja and Ananta Vasudeva temple).

One more important variable, which influenced the nature of the religious establishment is its residents. The resources of a Buddhist site depended on the dynamic relationship between the *stūpa,* the monks and the community – what O'Conner describes as the nexus of sanctity and community (O'Conners 1978:129). While a site renowned for its sacredness, power and efficacy in granting boon will enhance the prestige of monks and the monastic establishments as a whole, the fate of the *stūpa* and its monastic establishment was dependent upon the sanctity of the members of the monastic community of that place, as perceived by the community, since this will influence their ability to attract public sponsorship for their sustenance and growth. The community may turn back from Buddhist establishments whose monks were unpopular. This might explain why Bodh Gayā continued to attract pilgrims throughout, where as other Buddhist sacred sites associated with the Buddha's life, like Sankissa never developed in a large scale. This might explain the popularity of sites

Fig. 5.1: A painted image of stūpa from Satdhara, 10 km southwest of Sāñcī (5th century)

like Ratnagiri, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, which revealed a magnetic personality of their own as they could attract pilgrims in great numbers. Śatdharā is a good example of such symbiosis between magnetic power of *stūpa*, it monk and the community. Śatdharā which is south of Sāñcī emerged as an important Buddhist centre just after Sāñcī *mahāstūpa* was built. It did not boast of patronage by great emperor like Aśoka; nor does it have the sanctity of Bodh Gayā or Sāñcī. However it became quite famous attracted the community sponsorship. The inscriptions in Śatdharā refer to local monks and community who interacted in such a symbiotic relationship (Agrawal 2004).

5.3 Buddhism and its Support Base in Orissa

Apart from twin normative sources of stable support base, *i.e. dāna* and pilgrimage, it is very difficult to reconstruct in details the issues raised in the previous section. The exhortation to give gift as one of the *pāramitā, saṅgha* as a meritfield and pilgrimage provided a stable source of income to *saṅgha*. The interaction between monastery and laity operated at several levels. Ideologically the *saṅgha* was a *punnakhetta* (meritfield) in which the layperson was to invest to gain merit. The *Dakkhina Vibhaṅga Sutta*, which was one of the most popular sermons for laity, indicated various degrees of merit acquired by giving alms and donation to different recipients ranging from the Buddha to animals (Rahula 1956:252). Ceylonese political elites like Duthagamini record these noble deeds (*punna pothaka*) enumerating the munificent gifts to *saṅgha*. The Mahāyāna literature exhorts the laity to make *dāna* by including it as one of the parameters to be followed by laypersons.

These two apart, the monastery-laity interaction continued at several other levels – social, economic – which would have ensured regular flow of resources to Buddhist establishments. The *saṅgha* performed many useful roles: *Saṅgha's arogyaśāla* provided medical treatment to laity. Such *arogyasala* have been found in Sārnātha (*ASIAR* VI 88 ff; VII 62), Pataliputra (Altekar and Mishra 1959: 52-53, Pl. XXXII no. 5 and XXXIV B, no. 2) and from an epigraphic reference in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā (Sircar 1963-64: 17-18). These twin aspects of support base – the religious establishment as a centre of pilgrimage and nature of interaction between the community, including its aspiring classes, *stūpa* and monks could not be studied in detail in our period.

5.4. Communities, Donations in Epigraphic records and support Groups

What were the changes taking place in early medieval Orissa, which led to the emergence of new aspiring classes and communities? Epigraphic sources of the period clearly point to the expansion of agriculture and new settlements in other parts of Orissa. While archaeological exploration of the habitation settlements in and around the religious establishments could not be undertaken, epigraphic evidence refers to different types of settlements. This has been documented in Appendix 3 at the end of this chapter.

A study of these records reveals the following pattern. A number of settlements

and administrative levels came up in the period, namely *grāma, khaṇḍa, pariśva, vatakapālli, pañcālī vataka, madamba viṣaya ahāra, rāṣṭra,* and *maṇḍala bhoga* and *bhukti.* Apart from these *hāṭṭa, pura, durga* and other settlement type are also mentioned.

All settlements that figure in the grants are largely in the outlying areas. Not many settlements of Cuttack, Puri (except the southern part) and Balasore occur in the epigraphic records where the majority of the Buddhist and brāhmanical sites are located.

On the other hand, in upland districts, there are some correlation of settlement and Brahmanical structures in Koraput, Nuapara (Kalahandi district). Reference to settlements in Kesaribeda and Podagarh (Koraput district) in epigraphic records of the period is corroborated with Viṣṇu, Śaiva and brāhmanical remains (see Chapter 3). Except in case of Srikakulam Andhra Pradesh, Narsinghpur area of Cuttack district, Anugul division of Dhenkanal districts, Khiching area of Mayurbhanj, and Soro of Balasore districts where we have Buddhist presence, other settlements are outside the pale of Buddhist presence.

Brāhmanical presence is far more spread out than the distribution of Buddhist sites. However, a clear juxtaposition between land grants to *brāhmaṇas* and brahmanical sculptures or structure is lacking. For example, there are not many archaeological evidence of brāhmanical temples in Southern Puri, Dhenkanal and Ganjam district from where a number of settlements were mentioned in the epigraphic records.

However, extant temples are mainly concentrated in Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts where we do not have much epigraphic records. Similarly, Buddhist presence is mainly concentrated in a belt where there are not many reference to settlements in epigraphic records (exception being Soro, Jayarampur, Kupari, Solampur, etc.)

5.4.1 *Epigraphic Evidence of Patronage to Buddhism*

Out of nearly 340 inscriptions of our period, only few refers to donation to Buddhist establishments. In total there are fourteen epigraphic references of donation to Buddhism in Orissa. They are presented in the table next page:

Apart from these inscriptions, there are five other votive inscriptions largely in images found from different sites. They are Śubhagupta inscription in Avalokiteśvara image of Udayagiri (7th century AD, Inscription of Simyaka (Udayagiri rock cut image of Mañjūśrī dt. 9th century AD), Rānaka Vajranaga's inscription on the step well of Udayagiri (9th-10th century AD), Varhanāga's inscription in the image of Khiching (10th Century AD) and Śrī Rana Mulauccha of Jayarampur.

Apart from these fourteen inscriptions there are three other epigraphic references of donations to Buddhism – namely the Sirpur Inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Balārjuna, the Bhandak inscription, the Mallhar plate of the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta. Apart from these, the recent excavation of early historical-early medieval Buddhist site, Laṅgudi, has yielded a number of Brāhmī inscriptions, the authenficity of which is questioned Further the Buddhist site of Kaima preserves conch-shell *brāhmī* inscriptions, the readings of which are not beyond dispute.

Table 5.2 : Epigraphic reference of patronage to Buddhism

Name of the Inscription	*Donee – religious affiliation*	*Donated to*	*Location*	*What is granted*	*Deities mentioned*	*Ref.*
Bhadrakālī Inscription of the time of Gaṇa	Mūlajapa in the 8th regnal year of Mahārāja Gaṇa	Ārya *Saṅgha*	Bhadrakālī, in Bhadrak town	80 *adhakas* of land	Parṇadevati	D.C. Sircar *EI.*, xx–xix: 169–174
Jayarampur plate of Mahārāja Gopacandra	*Mahāsāmanta* Mahārāja Acyuta, a feudatory of Mahārājādhirāja Śri Gopacandra	To the Buddhist monks residing in a *vihāra* at Bodhipadraka	In north Balasore	Village Svetavalika	Avalokiteśvara	Rajaguru, S. N., *OHRJ* 11, 206=229
Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva Yr 149	*Paramamaheśvara* made at the request of ranaka Vinitatuṅga	To Jayasrama monastery	Talcher	Village Kallani in the Purvarastra *viṣaya* in northern Tosali	Buddhabhaṭṭāraka	Mishra, B, 1934: 40=49
Talcher plate of Śivakara	Same as no. 3	Same as no. 3	Talcher	Village Suraddhipura in Mādhyama *khaṇḍa viṣaya* northern Tosali	Same as no. 3	*Ibid.*, 51
Brāhmī inscription on stone pavement, east of *caitya-gṛha*, Lalitgiri, dated to 1st-2nd century AD Vinaya, a resident of Vadhamāna, Vinayadhara and his disciple Buddhitini (a nun), a resident of Aggotisila	Buddhist		Lalitgiri	Recorded the completion (samvita) of a seat	Adatadamana?	*LAR:* 1988-89:93
—						
Khadipada Image Inscription of the time of Subhakaradeva	*Mahāmaṇḍalacari* Rahulacāri	—	Dhamnagar P.S. in the Bhadraksubdivision of Balasore district	Completion of an image of Avalokiteśvara	Avalokiteśvara	Ghosh, A, *EI.*, XXXVI:247-248
Copper plate charter of Somavamsi king Karna (end of 12th century AD)	King Karna of the Somavaṁśī dynasty	Queen Karpūrasri	Solanapura monastery	A village	—	Mitra, D., *EI.*, XXXIII: 263-268
Two inscribed steale from Ratnagiri	Kāyastha named Jananda of Nālandā	Most probably to the monks at Ratnagiri	—	Two *pravarta* measures of paddy from each *hala* measure of land from the village of Suriyanaka aśvarata	—	Sircar, D.C., *EI.*, XXXV: 97-98
Achutarajpur copper plate of the Somavaṁśī king Indraratha	Indraratha	To a Buddhist establishment	In Kodalaka *maṇḍala*, in Puri district	A *gramā* Khaddirvarni Tārā	Tripathy, K.B. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. viii (3): 271–276	

These epigraphic references point out cross-regional and cross-sectional support base of Buddhism in Orissa. While the Brāhmī inscription of Lalitgiri refers to donation by a layperson from present-day Bengal and a Buddhist nun, the inscribed steale from Ratnagiri points to donation by a *kāyastha* of Nālandā indicating thereby that even Buddhist had not abjured their caste preference. Further as the Khadipada image inscription shows, the Buddhist monks were also making donation to Buddhist establishments. The architectural style of the votive *stūpa* from Ratnagiri suggests a cross-regional pilgrim flow. The architectural style of the votive *stūpa* betray in some cases external influence which suggest that local craftsmen had to produce them at the general directives of the visiting clients. For instance two *stūpa* from Ratnagiri have relief of *āyaka* pillars a characteristic of the Krishna valley (Mitra 1981 I: pl. LXB). The extraneous influence is also manifest in three of the masonry *stūpa* in the area to the south of Monastery 2, where staircases against the four sides of the terraced platform were introduced and drums were embellished with ornate pillars.

5.5 Votive Stūpas, Other Archaeological Artefacts and Support Base

In the absence of archaeological exploration of habitation settlements of early medieval period, the community base of Buddhism cannot be substantiated. However, laypersons and monks donated a huge number of votive *stūpa* in various Buddhist pilgrim centres. The votive *stūpa* and other archaeological artefacts provide indices of the support base of Buddhism in Orissa. In Orissa as well as in other Buddhist sites of India a number of sacred objects like votive *stūpa*, terracotta plaques, seals and *dharaṇis* and terracotta amulets have been found. These sacred objects, sacralised by a ritual process, carry forward and contain as well, the power and charisma of the Lord himself and are as sacred and potent as the lord himself.

However historical reconstruction of support system has not looked at archaeological assemblage as a source of explaining the support base of a religion. The emphasis is more on epigraphic or literary reference. There are hardly any temple records, which keeps a detailed account of donation (unlike the *punna pothaka* of monasteries of Sri Lanka which records donation to the monastery). A cursory look at the ethnographic evidence of support system of a temple in Orissa reveals the obvious bias in the approach of historians towards the issue of support system. For instance in case of Jagannātha Puri, there is financial support from the govt, which could be regarded as a form of political patronage. Then, there are earnings by the temple administration through leasing of sacred space, and sale of *bhogas*, etc. Third, there are dedicatory plaques of sundry pilgrims, which are like epigraphic records of Kanheri and Sāñcī recording small gift. Fourth, earning through ritual activity like tonsure of hair at Tirupati. The earnings from movable and immovable properties of the temple constitute another source of temple. All these constitute the written records.[1] What constitutes an important basis of support is the vast amount of unrecorded gift in the *hundis*, to priests and other important servants of the temples. They form the real basis of the support base of a religious establishment. Initial

patronage had come from political elites because of the financial scale of the structure. But it was lay community, which formed a stable support system. Dedicatory objects give an indication of the lay community participation and involvement in the religious establishment.[2]

In normative and popular Buddhist literature the Buddha was represented as radiant, full of energy and powerful. After his death his *cetiyas* was imbued with potency and considered to be beneficial to those who worship these symbols. With the conception of primordial Buddha, god and *dharma-kāyā* in Mahāyāna Buddhism originated the ideas of infinite Buddhas. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* says that when the Buddha sat in meditation rays of light burst forth from his hair, between his eyebrows and illuminated 18 hundred thousand Buddha lands down to great hell, Avici and up to the limit of existence (*Saddhrmapuṇḍarīka* Ch. I). The notion of radiance and fierce energy and potency associated with the Buddha were carried to his *cetiyas* and further to sacred Buddhist objects and words through a process of ritual sacralisation.

This three-stage transformation of potency and radiance – from the Buddha to his *cetiyas* to other sacred objects has resulted in the proliferation of votive *stūpa*, terracotta images, amulets and other sacred objects. These sacred objects were imbued with indexicality after a certain ritual process. These indexical symbols represent both continuities and transformation simultaneously. For instance, the votive *stūpa* of *sārirīka* variety remind, on the one hand, the *sārirīka cetiyas* of the Buddha, and hence indicate the continuities of the tradition of the Buddha's *cetiyas*. On the other hand, the *sārirīka stūpas* underwent transformation in the sense that the *sārirīka cetiyas* of other historical Buddhist saints, by virtue of the continuation of a tradition going back to the Buddha, can also be considered as having potency to provide benefits to their worshippers. As Tambiah says: "The amulets as objectification of charisma are shown to have double presence: They embody memories past historical traditions and heroes, and they are linked to present-day living saints who are in contact with followers and disciples to whom they radiate their saintly virtue." (Tambiah1984: 197).[3]

The votive and other structural *stūpa* provided a dynamic linkage between the local populace, who venerated these small *stūpa* of the local monks and the monastic establishment. It also reinforced the existing practice of worshipping *cetiyas* associated with the Buddha.[4]

Apart from the *śārirīka stūpa*, the other popular objects of veneration were votive *stūpa*, terracotta amulets, seals, sealing and *dhāraṇis*. Clay seals and sealing as well clay *stūpas* are found in large numbers in many Buddhist establishments of India and elsewhere. The large store of terracotta seals with the creed-and-deer symbol stamped on them and the diminutive clay *stūpa*, with small seals found in the monasteries of Sāranātha are Buddhist memorabilia which pilgrims took away from the Buddhist sites to their respective places or, to deposit at their village shrines. At the temple of Pagan and elsewhere in Burma, many such terracotta tablets and seals have been found, which from the designs on them, have been thought to have come from India, and to have been brought by the Burmese pilgrims returning from Sāranātha

and Bodh Gayā. (*ASIAR* iii: 71). Hundreds of these tiny clay *stūpa* are found in 1924 at Pejeng on the island of Bali and in 1935 from Jongke in Java, seven km north of Jog Jakarta. Further clay tablets and stūpas were found from Kedah and Borobodur respectively (Allen 1986-7: 35-57).

Terracotta seals and sealings of monastery and private monks and lay people have been found in plenty in Ratnagiri, Nālandā and Bodh Gayā, etc. The short inscriptions on these seals and sealings refer to the donor, his socio-economic status, place to which he belongs to and other details which point out the wide support base of early medieval Buddhism. In fact, these seals and sealing of different persons prove that early medieval Buddhism, far from being confined to monastic establishment and its esoteric secret practices, enjoyed wider social support.

Terracotta amulets of different postures of the Buddha – in *bhūmisparśa, dharmacakra-pravartana* and other *mudrās* – provide another basis to understand social base of Buddhism in our period of study. Used as pendant and believed to have efficacy, these small terracotta amulets were worn by devotees. Amulets of different categories have been a subject of a fascinating anthropological study by Tambiah in the context of Thai Buddhism (Tambiah 1984). Though there is no evidence of terracotta amulets of famous Buddhist monks in India (main thrust of Tambiah's work), the amulets of Buddha alone indicate that these were popular objects, worn and used by devotees of far and wide.

From 7th-8th century onwards, the Buddhist *dhāraṇis* replaced *Pratitya-samudpāda in* dedicatory *stūpa.*[5] *Dhāraṇis* were Buddhist magical words believed to have power and efficacy. These *dhāraṇis* when placed inside a votive *stūpa,* is believed to suffuse the latter with energy, like a sort of electrical charge, and can be immensely beneficial. An inscription of Orissa dated to 10th century AD states that the construction of a single *caitya* (*stūpa*) with a deposit of a *dhāraṇis* inside it confer on the donor the merit of the erection of one lakh of *Tathāgata caitya (EI.* 31 171–174). I-tsing echoes this prevalent belief when he testifies that the people when construct a *stūpa* put in the *caitya* two kind of śārīras: (1) the relic of the Great Teacher; (2) the *Gāthā of Causation.* If we put these two in the image or *caitya,* the blessing derived from them are abundant (Takakusu 1966 : 150-151). Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and other sites have yielded *stūpas* having *dhāraṇis* on them.

Therefore, these material artefacts – *śārirīka stūpa,* votive *stūpa,* votive *stūpa* with *dhāraṇis* in them, terracotta amulets, plaques, seals and sealing – attest to amore general and popular support base of Buddhism. These material objects, along with the Buddhist iconography (as dealt in the functional aspect of the Buddhist deities in Ch. 3), provide indices of the popularity of Buddhism and accruing support base that went beyond royal patronage.

5.5.1 *Votive Stūpa*

As discussed in Ch. 2, the *stūpa* cult as one of the *cetiyas* of Buddha became very popular from a very early date. With the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism the

construction and worship of *stūpa* were considered to have great religious merit, and the insertion of *dhāraṇi* or earlier, the *Gāthā* in them in our period made construction and dedication of *stūpa* of having great merit and beneficial (Section 2.6, Chapter 2).

The votive *stūpa* can be categorised into three types: structural, monolithic and clay votive *stūpa*. In Orissa, one finds the first two varieties while clay votive *stūpa* have been found from the archaeological excavation of Sāranātha and Mahā Bodhi. The monolithic *stūpa* can be classified into two further categories: *śārirīka* and purely votive. The *śārirīka stūpa* have small socket at the base to put the *dhātu*. However, the overwhelming numbers of the monolithic *stūpas* are votive. The excavator of Ratnagiri has divided the monolithic *stūpa* of Ratnagiri into following categories on the basis of surface treatment: 1. Plain or slightly decorated *stūpa* without any image; Plain *stūpa* with relief of *ayaka* pillars; 2. Plain or decorated *stūpa* with a slight projection on the one side of the drum and dome meant for carved into a niche for an image 3. Plain *pañcayatana stūpa* the four smaller *stūpa* being fashioned on the top corner of the platform; 4. *Pañcayatana stūpa* relieved with an image within a niche; Plain or decorated *stūpa* with a niche on one side for a detachable image; Plain or decorated *stūpa* relieved with an image inside a niche, in one specimen two images within separate niches.

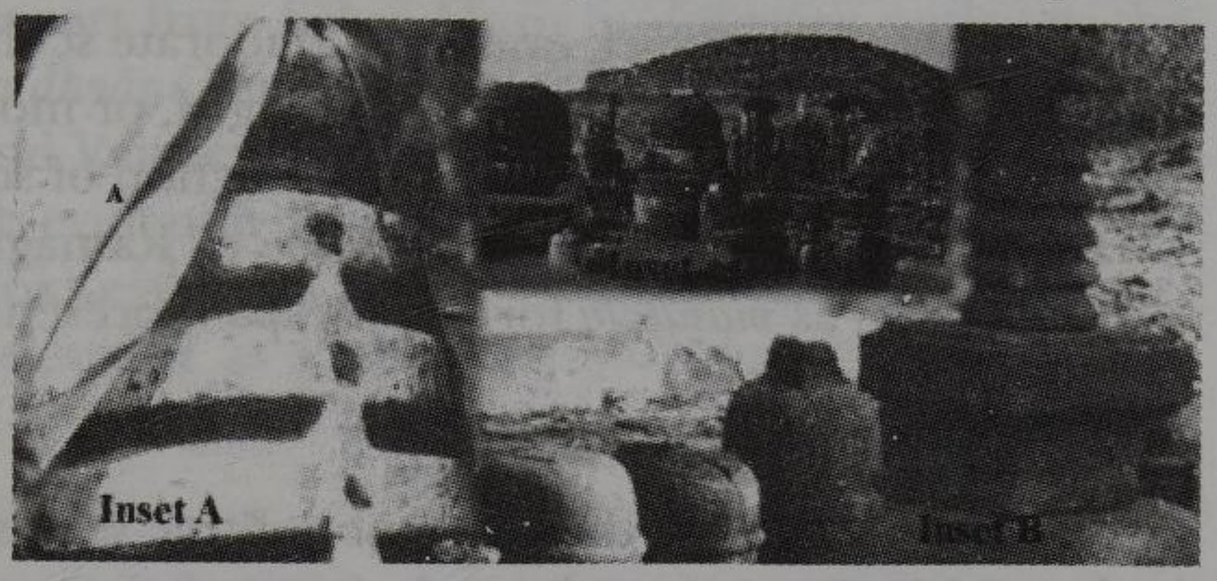


Fig.5.2 : Votive stūpas: Inset A Lalitgiri chatravali converted to a Tulsī Pedestal Inset B: Votives stūpas at Udayagiri Inset 3: votive stūpas near mahāstūpa, Ratnagiri

When Cunningham excavated Mahā Bodhi area, he found, "*stūpa*, monolithic *stūpa*, clay *stūpa*, both baked and unbaked from two three inches in height to the size of walnut. Scores of small *stūpa* are found inside the large *stūpa* enclosing small seals (Cunningham 1892). This observation is an echo of what Xuanzang saw at Bodh Gayā in 7th century AD:

> Here there are *stūpa*, in another places *vihāras*. The kings, the princes and other great personages throughout all Jambudvīpa who have accepted the bequeathed teachings as handed down to them have erected these monuments as memorials.

I-tsing referred to the popularisation of *stūpa* cult thus, "The priests and laymen in India make *caitya* (*stūpa*) or images with earth or the Buddha's image on silk or paper and worship it with offering wherever they so. Sometimes they build *stūpa* of the Buddha by making a pile and surrounding with bricks. They sometimes form these *stūpa* in lonely field and leave them to fall in ruins." (Takakusu 1966:150) Xuanzang also referred to the popularity of *stūpa* worship by observing that "it is a custom in India to make little *stūpa*... their height is about six or seven inches. This

then was the occupation of Jayasena; with his mouth he declared the excellent law, whilst with his hand he constructed these *stūpa.* Thus he acquired highest and most excellent religious merit (Beal 1958 2: 153-54).

Votive *stūpa* of these varieties exhibit a great amount of variations. In sheer numbers the votive *stūpa* of Ratnagiri even outnumber Bodh Gayā. While some of these monolithic votive *stūpas* are elaborately decorated and have images in their niches – either in relief or sculptural, the others are quite simple. Most of these votive *stūpas* contain in their niches images of different Buddhist divinities. In some votive *stūpas* of Ratnagiri, one finds elaborate sculptural *maṇḍala* as in the Jambhala *maṇḍala* in votive *stūpa* no. 37 of Ratnagiri, or monolithic *stūpa* with *Prajñās* of four Dhyāni Buddha on four corner Introduction of sculptural *maṇḍala* in *stūpa* — as in Udayagiri main *stūpa* and votive *stūpa* of Ratnagiri — mark a decisive advance in *stūpa* worship, as *maṇḍala* forms of *stūpa* represent a complex stage of Buddhism.

5.5.1 (a) *Votive stūpa at Ratnagiri*

In Ratnagiri more than 700 monolithic *stūpas* have been exposed by excavation in the *mahā-stūpa* area and area in front of monastery 2 alone. The number of partly visible *stūpas* scattered on hill, particularly near the banyan tree are considerable. Some of these monolithic votive *stūpas,* which are limited in number, were doubtless used for enshrining the bone relics of the departed monks. For this purpose they were provide with socket, usually at the base to hold the charred bones. The remaining *stūpas* are all votive, and were sometimes inscribed with the usual Buddhist creed of *Ye dhamma hetu pravarasa.* Several unfinished *stūpas* have been found from the area. They have projections on one side of the drum and dome. Presumably, the intention was to carve the figure of the deities into these projections according to the inclination of the devotees. Evidently, these somewhat incomplete *stūpas* were sold or dedicated during the period of heavy rush of pilgrims of varying means, and consequently had to part with these *stūpa* sin place of plain decorated *stūpas,* which fell short of demand. These monolithic votive *stūpa* could not be permanently kept in the immediate vicinity of *mahāstūpa* due to their ever-increasing number as well due to the outgrowth of small structural *stūpas* around the *mahāstūpa.* Hence, these monolithic *stūpas* were dumped in the nearest available place. Some of these found place on the ruined tops of earlier structural *stūpas.* Some of these were dedicated more than once is proved by addition of an image either carved on the monolithic itself or fashioned on a separate slab or put inside a niche cut evenly in the finished body of the *stūpa*) on a few *stūpas.* Thus, the *stūpa* on plate LXXXI B of Ratnagiri I appears to be an addition, the *stūpa* itself having most probably been originally a *śāririka* memorial (Mitra 1981 I: 138). This rededication around the *mahāstūpa* indicates the heavy inflow of pilgrims who were cheated by the workmen. The workmen probably removed the earlier votive *stūpas* secretly to their workshop to make little redesigning before they were sold to pilgrims. The sheer number, rededication and dumping around the *mahāstūpa* indicate that Ratnagiri attracted a heavy flow of pilgrims, at least in some seasons.

The plain or decorated *stūpas* with images in their niches numbering 270 constitute the largest group among the monolithic votive *stūpas* of Ratnagiri. Among the Buddhist divinities in these niches, Tārā outnumbers others. The other deities in descending order were various Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjūśrī respectively. As discussed in Chapter 3 on the evolution of Buddhism in Orissa, Tārā became quite popular from 6th century AD onwards replacing Avalokiteśvara as a sSaviour deity. Different forms of Tārā have been found in Orissa. The popularity of the deity owed to the belief that she protects the devotees from many perils.

Among the Buddha images, apart from Śākya Muni in different postures, the niches contains images of *Pañca-dhyāni* Buddhas, namely Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava and Vairocana. The preponderance of Tārā cult in the context of Orissan Buddhism is evident from the numerous sealings of Ratnagiri invoking Tārā's protection. Avalokiteśvara as a saviour deity was quite popular, followed by Mañjūśrī who was regarded as a god of knowledge of wisdom and knowledge (see Chapter 3).

5.5.1 (b) *Lalitgiri*

Among the monolithic votive *stūpas* of Lalitgiri, one finds 35 in front of the sculptural shed and fifty-five in the *caityagṛha* area, and two at the southern entrance staircase, which leads to *caityagṛha*. In contrast to Ratnagiri which shows great variation in divinities, style and decoration, Lalitgiri monolithic votive *stūpa* are simple in style, and are devoid of decoration made on either circular or square base. Most of the *stūpa* moulding which separates the drum from the dome have a circular band without any decoration. Most of the niche–images are of different Buddhas, and other divinities as found in Ratnagiri or Bodh Gayā are absent in Lalitgiri.

In Udayagiri, monolithic votive *stūpas* with *chatrāvalī* are to be found heavily in front of Monastery 2 (across the slope), and near the temple. Most of them have round base. However, the characteristic features of Udayagiri votive *stūpa* are the absence of relief figures in the niches.

Other votive *stūpas* are encountered during survey work is Vajragiri. In Aragarh on the Daya valley near Khurda/Jatni town one encounters numerous votive *stūpas*, some being *pañcāyatana* (four main *stūpa* projection on the foreside).

Apart from votive *stūpas* other votive offerings of structural nature are votive temples and circular wheels made in stones with *stūpa* on the top. The last type is found in Ajodhyā while votive temples are found from Ajodhyā, many sites of Mayurbhanj and Prācī valley.

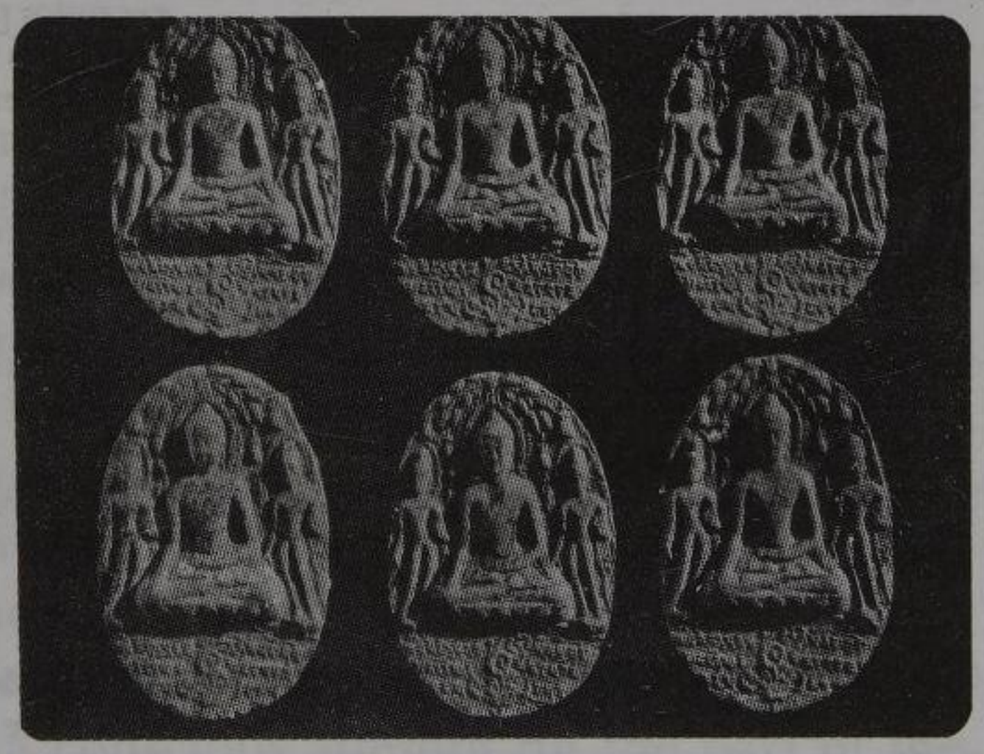


Fig.5.3 : Terracotta plaques of Buddha: objectification of *charisma* (Courtesy ASI, Delhi.

5.5 2 Terracotta Amulets and Plaques

Amulets and plaques of terracotta have been found from Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri and from Buddhist sites like Bodh Gayā and Nālandā. Amulets are worn as a charm to ward off evil. While the plaques are affixed to a structure and represent donations by devotees they also represent memorabilia to be taken to their homes. One feature, which differentiates an amulet from the plaque, is the loop in the former to be worn as a pendent. Ratnagiri has yielded the both, while Bodh Gayā and Nālandā principally have plaques only. In Lalitgiri, two slate plaques of brahmanical divinities, namely Gaṇeśa and Mahiṣamardinī Durgā have been unearthed.

As discussed in the beginning of the Chapter, Tambiah has classified these terracotta plaques and amulets "as sediments of power". He divides them into four categories in the anthropological context of Thai Buddhism (Tambiah, 1993: 208). They are:

- Amulets/plaques representation of the famous and historic Buddhas, which have played the role of Palladian of the Thai kingdom.
- Amulets that represent of famous Buddhist monks, especially of 19th century AD, who sponsored their making and sacralisation. The most famous of them are called Phra Somdet and Phra kling.
- Miscellaneous amulets, a large residual alms of representatives of sods, humans, animals, birds and anomalous beings sacralised by marks and lay experts skilled in base arts.
- Contemporary amulets being blessed by the forest dwelling meditation masters, some of whom are acclaimed as saints.

To these classes should be added terracotta plaques and amulets of other Buddhist divinities and terracotta plaques having *dhāraṇis* or *Gāthā* of causation.

Table 5.3 : Table Sealings from Ratnagiri (N= 1345)

Types and Person's Name	Description and Explanation
1. Seals having two-line letters (773 in no.)	Inscription: *Siddhaṁ* (explained by a symbol) *Tārābala.* The second line *Mararodhana.* Palaeographically dated to 11th Century AD, the excavator postulates that by stamping these words on clay lumps the devotees aspired to resist Mara with the blessing of Tārā.
2. Cylindrical seals numbering 107 clay sealings.	The legend appears to be *Cintāmaṇi–rakṣita* (protected by the Cintāmaṇi), apparently the name of an individual or may be invoking the protection of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara.
3. 97 clay sealings bearing two-line legend circular incense.	some sealing with seal impression contain the *Cintāmaṇi rakṣita* line. *Sthavira* Sara Ratrasya or *Sarachandasya.*
4. Globular sealing, number 72 bearing six letters in two lines, palaeographically dates of 11th century A.D.	The sealings bear the name of an individual called Sri Vimalacandra.
5. Barrel-shaped sealings, numbered 48 with the letters with an elliptical frame, palaeographically similar to Ratnagiri copperplate of king Karṇa.	The first two letters are da and ma. The last letter appears to be 'ra'.
6. 18 globular sealings with a semi-circular incuse.	These defaced sealings bear the legend Tārāsraya (protection of Tārā) as well as the seal impression of Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra *Āryabhikṣu-saṅghasya.*
7. Plano-convex sealings with bull motif, . numbering 46 in total as well as sealings with lion motif.	The humped bull with a circular border has a well-built body.

In historical context of Indian Buddhism one finds no. 1, no. 3 and no. 5 types of terracotta plaques/amulets. These terracotta plaques/amulets were produced in the sites; they were either devoted by the devotees in the sacred monastic site or a after a process of sacralisation and dedication, were taken with them to their respective homes.

Ratnagiri Museum displays some beautiful terracotta of Buddha in *bhūmisparaśa-mudrā*. Apart from the plaques, four moulds have been discovered from Ratnagiri to produce plaques. From the impression taken for the mould if it is seen that the person responsible for the mould was a man of skill and artistic vision (Mitra 1983 II pl. CCCXVI, IA).

5.5.3 *Seals and Sealings*

Another index of popular aspect of Buddhism of early medieval period is the number of seals and sealings found from the Buddhist sites of Orissa. Some of these seals are monastic seals describing the names of different Buddhist establishments. From these seals it is known that Ratnagiri was known as Ratnagiri Mahavihāra while Udayagiri Monastic establishment was known as *Madhāvapura Mahavihāra Ārya Bhikkhu Saṅghasa*. The seal inscription from Lalitgiri describes it as *Chandraditya Vihāra Samagra Arya Viskshu Saṅgha*. There are invariably two motifs, one above and the other below the legend. The upper motif is a wheel (*dharmacakra*) flanked by a deer on either side – typically symbolising the first sermon of Buddha at Sāranātha. The wheel presents different forms and is represented with spokes and radiating light. The lower motif is a floral pattern of lotus, composed of petals in single or double row. Altogether 46 seals and some plaques of Ratnagiri-mahāvihāra variety have been found.

More than monastic seals, what is of importance is the seals of numerous persons. Some of them were obviously of monks as in Nālandā but some seals belong to laypersons as well. Some other seals have legend invoking the protection of Tārā, indicating thereby the popularity of Tārā cult.

The following two tables represent seals and sealings of the monks of Ratnagiri monastery as well the sealings of laypersons from Ratnagiri respectively. Many of the sealings of laypersons are votive offerings.

These sealings were found from cell no.17 of monastery 1, which seems to the store-room of the monastic establishment. These seals of important monks suggest that Ratnagiri monks attained great fame and popularity. The monastic seals as well the sealings of important monks, as of no.2, 3 and 4, were produced by the monastery and distributed among the devotees, who take them as memorabilia. For instance, no.2 and 3 sealings bearing the legend of *Cintāmaṇi rakṣita* and *Sthāvira Sararatnāsya* respectively were found in large number. These types of sealings of the monks, before being distributed among the pilgrims and devotees, are impressed with the monastic seal impression, indicating that there was a conscious attempt on the part of the monastic establishment to associate the monastic establishment with these important

monks. Many of the small structural *stūpas* of Ratnagiri might belong to these important monks and the sealings, so large in number, were distributed as sediments of power and efficacy among the devotees. It may be that monastery like Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitgiri attained their fame, because of these monks, who were quite famous in their times. Another example of such local monks-monastic establishment dynamics was the *stūpa* of *Śatdharā,* which is located south of Sāñcī. Founded before *mahā stūpa* of Sāñcī, which contains the relic casket of Maugulayana Śatdharā, *stūpa* contains the relic of local Buddha *ācāryas,* and attained great fame, attracting lay devotees of the areas and other places (Agrawal 2004). It may be said of numerous Buddhist establishments of Orissa attained popularity due to the name of these monks.

Another instance of attempt to popularise the monastic establishments is the presence of seal impressions in sealings with the legend of Tārāsraya. Tārā became quite popular in early medieval times as a saviouress, and numerous sealings having *Tārāsraya* and *Tārāsaraṇa* have been found from Ratnagiri, Nālandā and other places. Obviously, the small sealings were considered some sort of amulets or talisman. However, when the sealings with Tārā legend were struck with monastic sealing of Ratnagiri, it indicates that there was a conscious attempt on the part of monastic establishment to associate the centre as an important cult centre of Tārā. This attempt is indicated by seal impressions on sealings, which aims at elevating Ratnagiri as a special centre of Tārā.

Table 5.4: Seals of Lay Devotees from Ratnagiri.

Regd. No.	Inscription and other details
Reg. no. RTR-2, 1843 and 1844, pl.cccxiiiA, 2 and3	Legend *Vinitaguptasya* (of Vinitagupta), ascribed to circa 11th century AD. Above the legend is the motif of a conch with its head on the dexter, while below the legend is a decorative plant motif of fine workmanship
Reg. RTR-2 1845	Of Kuntīghosa belonging to 11th century AD
Reg.. RTR-2, 1846	Of Vajraguptah (11th century AD)
Reg. RTR-2, 1848–50	Of Divakaraguptah (11th century AD)
Reg. RTR-2, 1851	Apradamadah (vigilance)
Reg. Rtr-2, 1852	Tārāsraya (10th century AD); cell 17, as discussed earlier, had also yielded the sealing with similar legends, but these sealing have crescent motives on the top while sealing of RTR – 2, 1852 have the representation of a fully blossomed lotus, indicating the non-monastic origin of such sealings.
Reg. RTR-2, 1853	Fragmentary sealings with four parallel groups with string marks on the back side of the lump, indicating that the sealing was hung or worn. The last letters of the legend reads *Chandrah* (11th century AD).
Reg. RTR-2, 1856	Seal impression with legend Ratnasraya.
Reg. no RTR-2, 1857	Plaque with oval seal impression of Udyatavarma.

Some of these seal-impressions might belong to monks, as also other seal impressions which were found from cell 18, cell 20, cell 24 of Monastery 1 of Ratnagiri. As the dominant motifs on these sealings are conch, lotus petals and other flowers and shows little stylistic variation, it seems that these sealings were made in a local workshop before being offered as votive offering by monks and lay worshippers.

While these archaeological artefacts indicate interaction between laity and

monastic establishments, they do not completely reveal various dimensions of interaction. The nature of some of these interactions was obviously ritual-based, as the dedication of votive *stūpa* needed a process of ritual sacralisation before they could be dedicated in the *mahā stūpa* area. Other ritual-based interactions include sacralisation of amulets and plaques as well the seals of important monks used most probably as some sort of talisman. However, the degree of interaction or the precise nature of interaction are more complex and broad-based, rather than merely confined to ritual-based actions. Questions like how far was the monastic establishment trying to reach out to the surrounding settlements, and the economic and other contexts of such interaction was or known. How far did they act as charmer and benefactor of boon or solver of the existential problems of the laity? What role did they play in rituals of laity, who tried to propitiate many instrumental deities for granting their wishes? How was the monastic establishment engaged with persons who were cultivating lands endowed to the monastic establishments? I-tsing says: According to the teachings of the *Vinaya*, when a cornfield is cultivated by the *saṅgha*, a share of the product is to be given to the monastic servants or some other families by whom the actual tilling has been done. Every produce should be divided into six parts, and one-sixth should be levied by the *saṅgha*; the *saṅgha* has to provide the bulls as well as the ground for cultivation, while the saṅgha is responsible for nothing else. Sometimes the division of the product should be modified according the seasons. "Most of these monasteries in the west (India) follow the above custom, but there are some who are very avaricious, and do not divide the produce, but the priest themselves give out the work to servants, male and female, and see that the farming is properly done (Takakusu 1966: 61).

Two important issues related to Buddhist establishment-laity interactions are the structural arrangements in monastic establishments, and the habitational settlements that provided the day-to-day context of such interactions.

As regard to the first issue, it is certain that introduction of esotericism in monastic practices necessitated a neat segregation of the sacred space of the Buddhist establishment into enclosed and open to laity. In present-day context of Nepal, esoteric deities of the Vajrayāna like Hevajra and Nairatma are kept in secret chamber to which only few have access. The shrine of Candramahāsona acts as a public face of Cakrasambara and his consort Vajravarāhi, who are enshrined immediately above him in the Kwa Bahah subsidiary Tantric shrine (Gellner 1996:pl.6). On the other hand, Lars Fogelin, in his work on the early historic Buddhist site of Thotalakoṇḍā in the Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh, argues that such division of sacred space into enclosed and public is to be found in early historical site of Thotalakoṇḍā where a wall enclosure divides the refractory and public prayer-hall meant for public worship from the *mahā stūpa* area, which seems to have confined to monks alone (Fogelin 2004: 376-91).

In the context of the Buddhist sites of Orissa, however, laypersons had easy access to the *mahā stūpa* area. This is indicated by the numerous votive *stūpa* dedications in the *stūpa* area. However, some esoteric practices, as required by

Vajrayāna Buddhism, necessitated segregation of sacred space into an enclosed and public, and to the former, only a few had access to. A cell in monastery 1 of Ratnagiri and cell 2 in the Monastery 2 of Udayagiri contain secret cellas. The secret cella in Udayagiri Monastery 2 contains alter and a niche in the wall to place the image. However, Monastery 1 area of Udayagiri was enclosed by a fortified wall, which witnessed four phases of additions. While the exact purpose of such an enclosure in a naturally fortified area could not be ascertained, it can be said that the *mahā stūpa* area, to the immediate North-west of which the Monastery 2 was situated, seemed to be a restricted space on the ground that the monastery 1 was fortified, and to the west of the *mahā stūpa* is a rectangular brick platform measuring 2.5 by 1.10 m, which may a public prayer-hall. That *mahā stūpa* area is a restricted space is further attested by the absence of votive *stūpa* in its immediate vicinity; on the other hand, their major concentration is found in the *upasanagṛha* near Monastery 2.

Other issue is the number of habitational settlements in the immediate surroundings of these Buddhist sites of Orissa. One encounters habitational settlements in Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Kaima, Radhanagar, a fortified early historical settlements near the Buddhist sites of Kaima and Langudi, Duburi, Aragarh, Dhauli, etc. However no systematic documentation has been done for the habitational settlements around these Buddhist settlements. However, given the dense concentration of Buddhist settlements in Birupa, Prācī and the Dayā valley, systematic survey will reveal many habitation settlements.

Traders constituted an important social support base of Buddhism. Given the ideological underpinnings provided by Buddhism towards trade, traders, especially oceanic traders, engaged in a dynamic interaction with the religion. Buddhism, as found first in Kanheri, developed Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi as saviour deity (Ray 1994: 121–160). He, as a saviour deity, protects the sea-going traders from the perils of sea-voyage. From 6th century onwards, the Buddhist goddess Tārā replaced him as saviour deity. The *Astamahābhaya* Tārā image, found from Ratnagiri depicts *Jalarnava-bhaya*, in which the deity rescues a sinking ship. Tārā's association with sea-going traders of Orissa is attested from the oral tradition as well. The oral tradition associated with the origin of Kakatpur Maṅgala refers to how Maṅgala was worshipped as Tārā in Simhala *dvipa*, from where a trader brought the image to Kakatpur on the sea-coast and installed her there as Tārā (Mishra 1980). Upon close iconographic look, Kakatpur Maṅgala reveals to be a Tārā image. The next chapter discusses the activities and the context of this important social base of Buddhism.

REFERENCES

1. Two important works on temple economy in Orissan context centre around Jagannātha temple of Puri. While Hein has analysed the economy of the Jagannātha temple on the basis of modern temple records, N. Pattnaik in his book has also looked at the cultural stimulus which attracted people to Puri and organisation of Puri as a pilgrim centre (Hein 1978: 443); Pattnaik 1977).
2. There are three kinds of dedicatory objects. Dedication emphasises that what is important

about the object is that it has been given and implies confidence in identification of the recipient as transcendent and some permanence to the gift. Offering focuses on the act of giving and allows that things given may quickly perish. Votive (c. f' ex voto') claims a connection between the object and some prior vows or prayer. Hoard draws attention to quantity of similar items being found together and makes no connection with any particular sort of action by an individual or group (Osborne 2004: 1-10).

3. Tambiah's excellent study on cult of amulets and forest monks of Thailand provides the theoretical basis of the studies of votive *stūpas* (1984). Three excellent studies on votive *stūpas* are Lawson's unpublished dissertation on the clay sealings in British Museum, Nancy Hock's unpublished dissertation on the votive *stūpas* of Ratnagiri and Benistie's study of the votive *stūpas* in Ratnagiri and Bodh Gaya. (Benisti 1981; Lawson 1982; Hock 1987).
4. Schopen writes about Buddhists' desire to be buried close to a holy site (Schopen 1987: 193–225).
5. *Pratitya samudpāda* is found inside many *stūpas* in Ratnagiri. I-tsing, the Chinese monk described this popular custom thus: "the priest and laymen in India make *caityas* (*caityas*) or images with earth they put in the images of *caityas* two kind of *śārīras*. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher 2. *The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation.* (Takakusu 1966: 15-51)

Appendix 3 : Reference to various settlements in the epigraphic records of Orissa (7th to 12th centuries AD)

The Gaṅgās of Kaliṅganagara (II): 8th-9th century AD (in South Orissa in Ganjam and Srikakulam district 8th century AD)						
Chicacole plates of Devendravarman	Poppangika *grāma*	Krostuka *varttani*	Poppagi village and Sarvakota village			E. Hultzsch *EI* 3: 130-34; S.N. Rajaguru *IO* 2: 63
Sudava plates of Devendravarman	Haduvaka *grāma*	Puṣyagiri-pañcālī *viṣaya*				K. K. Ghosal *EI* 26: 62-65
Trilingi Inscription of Devendravarman	Navatula *grāma*	Korasodaka-pañcālī *viṣaya*	Nautala	Parlakemeidi block	Ganjam	R. K. Ghosal *IHQ* 20 232-236
Siddhantam Plates of Devendravarman	Siddhatthaka *grāma*	Varāha *varttani*		Siddhantam	Srikaulam	G. Ramdas *EI* 13: 212- 216
Sudava plates of Anantavarman	Talatthera *grāma*	Krostuka*varttani*				R.K. Ghosal *EI* 26:65-68
Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman	Kalamaṇḍamvi(bi)-sakuna *grāma*	Varāha *varttani*				R. Subhramanyam *EI*: 3331: 199-202
Santha Bomvali plates of Nandavarman	Cikhallika *grāma*	Phareyu *bhukti*				S. Rajaguru, *QJAHRS* 2: 185-189
Vishakhapatnam plates of Devendravarman	Grant of villages to a shrine called Śrīmad Dharmeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva)	Davadamadavam *viṣaya*				J.F. Fleet IA 18: 143-146
Alamanda plates of Anantavarman	Mede[la]ka *grāma*	Tirikatu *viṣaya*				E. Hultzsch *EI* 3: 17-21
Jayapur plates of Rājendravarman						S.N. Rajaguru *IO* 2 : 107- 08
Musinaka plates of Devendravarman	Musunika (ka) *grāma*	Varāha *varttani*	Musunuru	Siddhantam in Chicacole	Srikakulam	V.V. Mirashi *EI* 30:23-28
Bangalore plates of Devendravarman	Sidhata *grāma* to *Paramabhaṭṭaraka, parameśvara*	Varāha *varttani*				L. Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* 9: 140
Chicacole plates of Devendravarman	Virintam(nti?)ka *grāma*	Puṣkaraṇi *viṣaya*		Srikakulam	Srikakulam	D.C. Sircar *JASBL* 18: 17-20.
Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman	Puruṣṭhana or Puruṣjvana *grāma*	Bukudravaka				B.C. Chabra *EI*: 23: 73-78
Takkali plates of Devendravarman						E. Hultzsch *EI* 18: 311-13
Pattali plates of Yuvarāja Rajendravarman	Grant of village Pattali to deity Kancipotti-bhattaraka	Kṛṣṇamattamva	—			D.C. Sircar *EI* 32: 201-06
Plates of Rājendravarman						MER, 1918, copper plated no. 13: 137-38
Chicacole plates of Devendravarman	Tamaracheru *grāma*	Varāha*varttani viṣaya*				J.F. Fleet IA 13: 273-76

Chicacole plates of Satyavarman	Taru *grāma* to a Śaiva Stanakam	—				*Ibid.*, 14: 10-12
Tekkali plates of Anantavarman	Sinicarana *grāma*					R.K. Ghosal *EI* 26: 174-177
Parlakimedi plates of the time of Vajrahasta	Grant of Numka-pataka and Badavada *grāmas*	Galela *viṣaya*		Galavalli		F. Kielhorn: *EI* 3: 220-224
Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta	Jadyala *grāma*					P. Banerjee *EI* 31: 317-22
Nirakararpur plats of Udayakhedi	Pagadakheda *grāma*	Narendrave *bhoga*				S. Rajguru, JBRS, 35: 1-10
Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman						D.C. Sircar *EI* 31: 187-91
Chidivilasa plates of Devendravarman	Kandalivada *grāma*	Sahakolu*varttani*				D.C. Siracar JASL 18: 77-81
Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman	Napitavataka *grāma*	Kolva[r]ttani				G.S. Gai *EI* 34: 189-92
Chicaocole plates of Anantavarman	Dvikathada *grāma*	Dharmapura Dharakota block of Aska division	—	Dharmarajpur in	Ganjam	D.C. Sircar, JASL 8: 193-94

Name of the Inscription	**Donated unit**	**Division**	**Modern Idenfication**	**Block/division**	**Dist.**	**Ref.**
The Bhaumakaras (736-930 AD) in coastal Orissa						
Camunda Inscription of Vatsadevī	—	—	Jajpur town	—	—	D.C. Sircar *EI*, 28 : 184-85
Neulpur grant of Śubhakara	Komparaka	Vabyudaya *viṣaya*	Kupari	Kiiaira	Balasore	R.D. Banejee *EI* 15: 1-8; B. Mishra, 1934: 1-7
Haṁseśvara temple inscription	A hatta	—	Jajpur town	—	Cuttack	D.C. Sircar *EI*, 28 : 180-83
Khadipda image inscription of the time of Śubhakara	Image	—	Khadipada	Jajpur/Bhadrak	Cuttack	A. Ghosh *EI*, 26 : 1941-42;
Caurāsī plates of Śivakara	Vuruda *grāma*	Antarudra *viṣaya*	Vanavarada, near Caurāsī	—	Puri district	N. Tripathi *JBORS* 14: 292- 306
Gaṇeśagumphā inscriptions of Śāntikara's time	—	—	—	—	—	Binayak Mishra *op.cit*: 10
Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara	—	—	—	—	—	*Ibid:* 11
Terundia plate of Śubhakara	Lavaganda *grāma*	Sulantarakurbha *viṣaya*	—	—	—	D.C. Sircar *EI*, 28 : 211-216
Hindol plates of Śubhakaradeva	Noddilo *grāma*	Kaṅkavira *viṣaya*	Nandelo	Hindol, Anugul	Dhenkanal	*Op.cit.* 12-20

Dharakote plate of Śubhakara	Gundaja/ Gujjata *grāma*	Jayakatak *viṣaya*	Gundrivadi	Dharakote	Ganjam	S. Rajguru *JAHRS* 4:189-94
Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhuvana mahādevī	Kontaspara *grāma*	Olasrama*viṣaya*	Kantapara	Kantapra	Cuttack	B. > Mishra, *op.cit.*, 21-22
Talcher plate of Śubhakara; year 141	Kallani *grāma*	Pūrva rāṣtra	Kaliam	Telkoi	Keonjhar	*Ibid.* 23-31
Talcher palte of Śivakaradeva; year 149	Suraddhipura *grāma*	Madhyamakandha *viṣaya*	Jagati	Anugul	Dhenkanal	*Ibid*: 32-39
Talcher plate of Sivakaradeva year 149	—	—	—	—	—	*Ibid*: 40-50
Baud plate of Tibhuvanamahadevī	Kottapura	Tamala-*khaṇḍa-viṣaya*	—	Tamluk	Tamluk	S.C. De. *EI* 29:216-219
Baud plate of Tribhuvanamahadevī	Utthukakṣanda *kṣetram*	Daksina-*khaṇḍa-viṣaya*	—	Dakinmal	Contai	S.C. De. *EI* 29:219
Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī	Vilva *grāma*	Varada *khaṇḍaviṣaya*	Belagan	Athagarh	Ganjam	F. K*EI* horn *EI* 6:133-140
Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī	Rasambha *grāma*	—	Rambha (Near Palur)	Rambha	Ganjam	F. K*EI* lhorn *EI* 6:133-140-142
Santira*grāma* plate of Daṇḍimahādevī	Santira *grāma*	Tamura *viṣaya*		Tamura (Old Pallahara)	Dhenkanal	D.C. Sircar *EI* 29: 79-89
Kumurang plate of Daṇḍī Mahādevī	Kamtasara-nagari *grāma*	Khidingahara *viṣaya*	Khedajahri	Ghantasila	Puri	H. Pandey *JBORS* 5: 546-81.
Ambapua plate of Daṇḍī Mahādevī	—	—	—	—	—	Copper plate no. 22 of the ARIE for 1950-51
Ambagaon plate of Daṇḍimahādevī	—	—	—	—	—	U.K. Subudhi :24
Arual plate of Daṇḍimahādevī	—	—	—	—	—	U.K. Subudhi :25
Garant of Vakulamahādevī	Chodat[vutsa] *grāma*	Uregodda *khaṇḍa*	—	—	—	P.R. Srinivasan *EI* 36: 307-312
Anugul plate of Dharmamahādevī	Sakema *grāma*	—	—	—	—	B. Mishra *Op.cit.* 52-56
Taltali plate of Dharmamahadevi	Tarataloi *grāma*	Talamura *viṣaya* find spot at Malisahi)	Taltali(near the	Talmul	?	K.C. Panigrahi IHQ 21: 213-22
Anugul plate of Śaṇtikaradeva	—	—	—	—	—	A. Das *OHRJ* 13: 1-4

The Early Bhanjas of Khinjali *maṇḍala*
(10th-11th)

Kumurukelakela of plates of Śatrubhañja	Kumurukela *grāma*	Jaintamura	—	—	Tentaively in Phulbani district	B.C. Majumdar *JBORS* 2: 429-35
Sonepur plates of Śatrubhañja	Milupadi *khaṇḍakṣetra*	Royara*viṣaya*	—	Sonepur	On the border of Phulbani-Sonepur	B.C. Majumdar *EI* 11 98-104

Singhara plates of Raṇabhañja	Sinara-mahallopi *grāma*	Dakṣiṇa-pali-bhogi-*khaṇḍa*	—	—	—	B.C. Majumdar *JBORS* 6: 481-86
Orissa Museum plates of Ranabhañja	Varisama *grāma*	Raira *viṣaya*	—	—	—	K.C. Panigrahi *OHRJ* 11 : 155-59
Binka plates of Raṇabhañjadeva	Tasapaikera *grāma*	Utra(ttara)-palli on the bank of Mahānadī	The same village as the namesake	—	Sonepur	B.C. Majumdar*JBORS* 2 : 166-77
Patna Musem plates of Raṇabhañja	Va(Ba)hiravada *grāma* attached to	Dakhi(kṣi)na-pāli on the bank of Mahānadī	—	Athamalik	Dhenkanal	R.D. Banerjee R.D. Banerjee *EI* 20: 100-04
Dasapalla plates of Ranabhañja	Hastilenda *grāma* along with Paca-palli	Tullasidga *viṣaya*	—	—	—	B. Bhattacharya *JBORS* 6 : 266-79
Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja	Vallaṣriṅga *khaṇḍakṣetra*	Kh(a) tia *viṣaya*	—	—	—	R.D. Banerjee *EI* 12: 325-28
Baudh undated plates of Raṇabhañjadeva	Amvasari *grāma*	Dakṣiṅa-pali-Sivara *khanda*	—	—	—	A.C. Banerjee *JBORS* 20: 147-28
Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja	Konatinthi *grāma*	Khatiya *viṣaya*	—	—	—	R.D. Banerjee *EI* 12: 322-325
Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja yr.58	Uralla *grāma*	Tullaśṛṅga *viṣaya*	—	—	—	A. Banerjee *IHQ* 10: 473-477
The later Bhanjas of Khiñjali *maṇḍala*	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gumsur plates of Nettabhañja	Macchaudra *grāma*	—	—	—	—	James Princep *JASB* 6: 667-71
Ganjam plates of Nettabhañja	Ratanga/ Arataha *grāma*	Vasudeva *khaṇḍa viṣaya*	Rottongo	Gumusur	Ganjam	Hira Lal *EI* 18: 293-295
Ganjam plates of Nettabhañja	Macchada *grāma*	Machada-*khaṇḍa viṣaya*	Mujagodo	Gumusur	Ganjam	Hira Lal *EI* 18: 295-296
Komanda plates of Nettabhanja	Karanjadu *grāma*	Saradda *viṣaya*	Komanda or with Karada		Phulbani	K.C. Panigrahi *EI* 24: 172-75
Pettasara plates of Nettabhanja	Pettasara *grāma*	Mandidda *viṣaya*				C.C. Dasgupta *EI* 27: 337-40
Plates of Silabhanja Tribhuvanakatasa	Deuladdda *grāma*	Salvada *viṣaya*				D.C. Sircar & P. Acharya *EI* 28 : 272-83
Orissa plates of Vidyadharabhañjadeva	Tundurava *grāma*	Ramalavva *viṣaya*				F.Kielhorn *EI* 9: 271-77
Ganjamplates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva	Mu(mu)la-machada *grāma*	Machda-*khaṇḍa viṣaya*	Same as no. 3			Hira Lal *EI* 18: 296-98
Orissa Musem plates of Nettabhañja	A part of gunda-pataka *grāma* to brāhmaṇas and other part to Purusottama	Nanva *khaṇḍa viṣaya*				K.C. Panigrahi *OHRJ* 11 :1-9
Dasapalla plates of Nettabhañja	Valka *khandakṣetra* in dolada *grāma*	—	—	—	—	B. Mishra *JBORS* 6: 274-79
Dasapalla plates of Satrubhañja	Konkaira *grāma*	Paścima *khaṇḍa* of Ramalava *viṣaya*	—	—	—	D.C. Sircar *EI* 24: 189-94

Tribhuvanakatasa Ganjam plates of Śatrubhañja	Komvavada *grāma*	Voda*khanda viṣaya*				
Plates of Nettabhanja tribhuvanakatasa	Seda and Rai *grāma*	Nana*khanda viṣaya*	—	—	—	S.N. Rajaguru *OHRJ* 4 No . 3&4 : 67-76
Jangalapadu inscription	Kontamallo	Sulavadda *viṣaya*				D.C. Sircar 7 P. Acharya *EI* 28: 278-83
The Baripada stone Inscription of Dhruva raja						D.C. Sircar *EI* 30 250-54
Baripada stone inscription of Dhruvaraja	Vana *grāma*, Aranapada and Bharadi[hu]	—	Pedagadi	Kaptipada	Mayūrabhañja	D.C. Sircar *EI* 33: 85
Baripada stone inscription of Kumaravarmaraja	Dusakhi	—	—	Kaptipada	Mayūrabhañja	D.C. Sircar *EI* 33: 85 Rajaguru *OHRJ* 1: 179
Baripada stone inscription of a Bhanja king	Toler[n]a[rna], Bhu[j]a and Rai	Pedagadi	—	Kaptipada	Mayūrabhañja	D.C. Sircar *EI* 33: 86

ADIBHANJAS (10th-11th Century AD) with their capital at Khiching

Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja	Bṛhat-Sarai *grāma*	Urti*viṣaya* in Khijjinga	Urti , 10 miles north-west of khiching		Keonjhar district	R.C. Majumdar *EI* 25: 147-57
Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja	Sarapadraka *grāma*	Kerakera	Ghoshdapir, 12 miles south-south-west of Khiching	Bahalda	Mayūrbhañja	R.C. Majumdar *EI* 25: 157-61
Bamanghati plates of Raṇabhañja	Four villages	*Uttara khaṇḍa viṣaya* of Korandiya and Devakuda	—	Karanjia	Mayūrbhañja	P. Ghosh *JASB* 40: 165-67
Bamanghati plates of Raṇabhañja	Brahmanaavasti	Same *viṣaya*	—	—	—	P. Ghosh *JASB* 40: 168-69
Khiching plate of Mahanmadhavabhan-jadeva	Mokuga *grāma*	Phaṁsara *viṣaya*	—	—	—	D.C. Sircar *EI* 30: 220-25
Ukhunda plates of Prithvibhañja	Ganda *grāma*	Piganda bhoga in Khijinga *maṇḍala*	—	—	—	B. Mishra IHQ 13: 429-30
Kesari plates of Satrubhañja	Syllamayi *grāma*	Urtti *viṣaya*				R.C. Majumdar *EI* 25: 161-164
*Khanda*deuli plate of Narendrabhañja	Bonula *grāma*	*Uttara khaṇḍa* in Sidhahiba *viṣaya*	—	—	—	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 4: 172-77
Nettabhañja of Juruda grant						
Jurada grant of Nettabhañjadeva	Juruda *grāma*	Gada *viṣaya* in Khiñjali *maṇḍala*	—	—	—	C.R. Krishnamacharlu *EI* 24:15-20

The Bhañjas of Baudh Baud plates of Salonabhañja	Nayada *grāma*	Khatya *viṣaya* in Gandharavadi	Kaintragarh	Athamallik and Gandharavadi with Goehha-bari in Baudh	Dhenkanal –Baudh	K.C. Tripathy *EI* 26: 276-79
Baud plates of Kanakabhañja	Jamarapura and Sihipura patakas (villages)	Vaghula *khandaka*	Jampadar	Narla	Kalahandi	S. Rajaguru and S. Tripathy *OHRJ* 16: 14-30
The Bhañjas of Kolada Antirigam plates of Yasabhañjadeva	Komyana *grāma*	Voda *viṣaya*	Konamana	Chatrapur	Gañjam	Hira Lal *EI* 18: 298-99
Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadeva	Rengarada *grāma*	Khiñjaliyagada *viṣaya* (*viṣaya* adjoining fort of Khiñjali)	—	—	—	Gañjam T.C. Rath *EI* 19: 41-45
Udayavarha Bonai plates of Udayavaraha	Komdasama *grāma*	Kokela *viṣaya* in Talai *maṇḍala*	—	—	—	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 6: 241-45
The Sulkis –9th-11th century (with their base in Kodalalaka *maṇḍala* in Dhenkanal-Anugul Districts)						
Dhenkanal plates of Ranasthamba	Kolapanka	—	Kolambi (23" N 81.42" E)			H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 2: 396-400; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Grant of Ranastambha	A land in the sourheast of Jara *grāma*	Jara *khaṇḍa*	Jali (21 53 N 85 44 E		Dhenkanal	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 2: 168-71; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Talcher plate of kulastambha alias Ranastambha	Singa *grāma*	Pascima *khaṇḍa* of pu[rvva] *viṣaya*	Singara 9° 20' 50" N 85° 8 E)		Dhenkanal	R.D. Banerjee *EI* 12: 156-59; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha	Candrapura *grāma*	Konkula *khaṇḍa* in Goilla *viṣaya*	Chandapur (20° 47' N 85° 23' E)	Goyuilu(20 45 N; 85 17E)	Dhenkanal	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 2: 405-09; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha	Llopura *grāma*	Kodala *maṇḍala*	Lonipara (20° 53' N; 84° 56' E)		Dhenkanal	*Ibid*: 409-12; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha	Kamesirsa *grāma*	Tagakula-*khaṇḍa*				H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 2: 412-17; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Dhenkanal grant of Kulastambha	Jharabada *grāma*	Goyilla *khaṇḍa*	Jharaveda (21° 11' N; 85° 25' E)		Dhenkanal	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 2: 400-05; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Hindol plates of Kulastambha	Sogga *grāma*	Gaparaśṛṇga *viṣaya*				D.C. Sircar and P.Acharya *EI* 28: 107-14; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Puri plates of	Kankanira *grāma*	Goula(?)-*khaṇḍa*	Konkarai(20° 58' N;		Dhenkanal	M.M. Chakrabarti *JASB* 64:

Kulastambha			85' E)			125-27; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
Puri plates of Kulastambha	Padara *grāma*	Goila *khaṇḍa*		Goyuilu	Dhenkanal	*Ibid*: 123-27; Mishra Dynasties of medieval Orissa 1936:28- 30
The Tungas (10th-11th century AD)- A feudatory of Bhaumakaras in the Yamagartta *mandala*.						
Talcher plate of Gayadatuṅga	Svalpakomi *grāma*	Khem(mba)I *viṣaya*				D.C. Sircar *EI* 34: 93-96;
Talcher plate of Gayadatunga	Vamaitalla *grāma*	Tunkera *viṣaya*	—	Tonkour in pallahara	Dhenkanal	*Ibid:* 96-100
Asiatic Society plates of Gayadatunga	Toro *grāma*	Vendunga *viṣaya*	Thara-kota (21° 20' N; 85° 2' E)	Bona (Pallahara)	Dhenkanal	*Ibid*: 100-104
Bonai plate of Vinitatuṅga	Koñjari *grāma*	Khemvai *viṣaya*	Kendhujhar garh area		Keonjhar	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 6: 236-40
Khargaprasada plates of Vinitatuṅga	Lavantaiviya-*khaṇḍa ksetra*	—	—	—	—	A.K. Rath *OHRJ* 11: 242-554
Jayasiṁha Dhenkanal plates of Jayasimha	Karyati *grāma*	Yamagartta *viṣaya*	Jamagadia (21° 30° N; 85° 5'E)	Anugul	Dhenkanal	H.P. Shastri *JBORS* 2: 417-19.
Nandodbhavas Baripada Museum plate of Devanandadeva	Lamve(mbe)va *grāma*	Potada *viṣaya*	Limboo in Narsinghpur area of Cuttack	Potada with Potala in Hindol division	Cuttack/ Dhenkanal	K. C. Panigrahi *EI* 26: 74-82
Jurerpur plate of Devanandadeva	Palamuna *grāma*	Kahasrnga *viṣaya*	—			D.C. Sircar *EI* 27: 325-30
Narsinghpur plate of Devanandadeva	Dolosara *grāma*	Kaleda *khaṇḍa* in Eravatta *maṇḍala*				Ibid: 331-34
Tāmra plate of Devanandadeva	Tamvavara *grāma*	Kaleda *khaṇḍa* in eravatta *maṇḍala*				S.N. Rajguru *OHRJ* 15: 115-20
Daspalla plate of Devanandadeva						D.C. Sircar *EI* 24: 183-89
Jayapura or Talmul plate of Devanandadeva	Siloha	Aitarastambha-*khaṇḍa* in Airavatta *maṇḍala*	Siridi (20° 45' N; 85° 9' E)	Dhenkanal	Dhenkanal	N. Tripathy *JBORS* 16:457-72
Virapracandadeva Hindol plates of Virapracandadeva	Vadapati	Kurmmadeva *viṣaya*				S.N. Rajguru *OHRJ* 12: 4-8
The Somavamsis (9th-11th century AD) in Mahakosala and Orissa except the southern Orissa.						
Vakrantentali plates of Mahābhavagupta I	Vakratt[e]ntali *grāma*	Luapattara *khanda*				B.C. majumdar *EI* 11:93-95
Kalibhana plates of	Jambu *grāma*	Pota *Viṣaya*	—	Pow, 19 miles	Old Sonpur	Samablpur D.C. Sircar 7 P.C.

Mahābhavagupta I Patna plate of Janmeñjaya Mahābhavagupta	Vakavedda *grāma*	Ongatata *viṣaya*		south of Binka	State	Rath *IHQ* 20: 238-44 J.F. Fleet *EI* 3: 340-44
Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta	Pasitala *grāma*	Pota *viṣaya*	—	Same as no. 2		G.M. Laskar *JASB*, NS 1: 4-6: 12-13
Nagpur plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janmeñjaya	Satallama *grāma*	Kasaloda *viṣaya*				E. Hultzsch *EI* 8: 138-43
Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janmeñjaya 11:192-97	Ṛṣi *grāma* in Nimuna *Viṣaya*					S.N. Rajguru & M.P Dash *OHRJ*
Sonepur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janmeñjaya[1]	Gottaikela *grāma*	Luputaura *khaṇḍa* in Kosala				B.C. Chabra *EI* 23: 248-55
Kapalesvara Plates Mahābhavagupta	Randa and Alandala *grāmas*	Pova *viṣaya*				J.F. Fleet *EI* 3: 345-351
Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta	Arki *grāma*	Tulumva khaṇḍa in Kosala *deśa*				inscription B) *Ibid.*, (inscription C)
Cuttack plate of Mahābhavagupta, yr.31	Tulenda *grāma*	Sandana *viṣaya*	—			Ibid (inscription D)
Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janmeñjaya	Konnayilla grant	Tokkara *viṣaya* in Kosala *deśa*				D.C. Sircar & P.C. Rath *IHQ* *IHQ* 20: 245-50
Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayati yr 8	Kudukolo *khaṇḍaksetra*	Ganditama *viṣaya* in Odra *deśa*		Tukra, 14 east of Baragarh	Samabalpur	S.N. Rajguru *IO* 4: 156-66
Balangir Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayati; yr 8	Talakajja *grāma*	Sanula *viṣaya* in Kosala *desa*				G.M. Laskar *JASB*, NS 1: 6-7: 14-16
Cuttack Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayati; yr 9	Canda *grāma*	Marada *viṣaya* in Dakṣiṇa Tosali	Canadrvalli village	Hariharpur *pargana*		J.F. Fleet *EI* 3: 351-55
Nibbinna Plates of Mahāśivagupta	Nibanna *grāma*	Ganudapata-*maṇḍala* in Kosala *deśa*	—	Ghantapara, Sonepur	Bolangir	B.C. Majumdar *EI* 11: 95-98
Patna Plates of Mahāśivagupta; yr 24	Deladeli *grāma*	Telatata *viṣaya* in Kosala *deśa*				G.S. Laskar *JASB* NS 1: 7-8: 16-18
Patna Plates of Mahāśivagupta; yr 28	Lluttaruma *grāma*	Telatatta *viṣaya*				*Ibid*: 8-12; 19-23
Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhimaratha	Gaudasiminilli *grāma*	Sakhangadyanha *viṣaya*				J.F. Fleet *EI* 3: 355-59

1. The above plates record a grant made by the above king to the Kamalavana merchants's association, which hailed from Khadirapadra and resided in or had its base in Suvarnnapura.

Mahākosala historical Society's plates of Mahābhavaguptaraja	Liñjira *grāma*	Pruthra bhukti	Linjra village in Baramadela	Saranggarh	Bilaspir/Raigarh	L.P. Pandey *EI* 22: 135-38
*Khaṇḍa*para plates of Mahāśivagupta dharmaratha	Bhilli *grāma*	Abhappara *khaṇḍa* in Antaruda *viṣaya*	Bhillideuli	Aṣṭaraṅga	Puri	S. C. De *OHRJ* 12: 60-70
Jatesinga nad dungari plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayati	Vṛhadbhusayi *grāma* & Marañjaura *grāma*	Bhranda *viṣaya* in Kosala and Santovarda *khaṇḍa*				S.N. Rajaguru *IO* 4: 218-24
Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakesari Mahābhavagupta IV	Kontalaṇḍa *grāma*	Samsarava *khaṇḍa* in Airavatta *maṇḍala* in Odra *deśa*	Kantilo	Narsinghpur	Cuttack	B. Mishra *KBORS* 2 No1 ; 45-59
Lalatendu-Kesari cave inscription of Udayatokesari	Repair of Jaina temple and embankment in *Khaṇḍa*giri					R.D. Banerjee *EI* 13: 166-67
Kudopali plates of the time Mahābhavagupta yr. 13						F. Kielhorn *EI* 4: 254-59
Navamuni cave inscription of the time of Udyotakesari	Repair of Jaina temple and embankment in *Khaṇḍagiri*					R.D. Banerjee *EI* 13: 165-66
Second Inscription in the Navamuni cave	Repair of Jaina temple and embankment in *Khaṇḍa*giri					*Ibid*: 166
Bramheśvara temple stone inscription of the time of Udyotakesari	Records the erection of a temple dedicated to Brahmesvara at Siddhatirtha in Ekamra *ksetra*					S.N. Rajaguru *IO* 4:244-52
Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa	Kona *grāma*	Brahmo-Atthavisa *khaṇḍa* in Uttara Tosali	—	—	—	D. Mitra; *EI* 33:263-68 see Sircar in the same volume: 269-74
Sūrya image inscription of Karṇaraja						S.N. Rajaguru *IO* 4: 265-67
Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara						D.C. Sircar *EI* 28: 322-26
Stray plate found at Sonepur						*Ibid*: 326-28
Fragmentary stone inscription of Ranakesari at Govindpur						B. Mishra Orissa Under Bhauma kings: 74
Inscription of Viravarakesarin in the Liṅgarāja temples	Sixty-five units of lands in Citra and [Gajisya] villages					D.C. Sircar and J.C. Ghosh Indian Culture 3 no. 1: 122-25 also S. Das *OHRJ* 1 no. 4: 301ff

Chapter - 6

BUDDHISM ACROSS BAY OF BENGAL AND MARITIME NETWORK

(7TH - 12TH CENTURIES AD)

6.1 Situating seafaring in our period

Previous chapters show that Buddhism as well as brahmanical religions expanded enormously in Orissa after 7th century AD. This growth of Buddhism was not spatial alone; it also innovated new rituals, deities to make the religion more instrumental. Because of stable support system Buddhist establishments like Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Langudi continued uninterruptedly for more than a millennium. Trading groups constituted one of the social groups that gave donation to Buddhism. In Orissa, evidence of donations of traders to Buddhist establishment are scanty but the presence of so many seals and sealings invoking protection of Tārā, Tārā images in the votive *stūpa* niches of Ratnagiri, different images of Tārā in Orissa and Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā images in Orissa attests to the popularity of Tārā cult in Orissa.

Scholars have brought to light the close relations between Buddhism and seafaring activities in the early historical context (Ray 1994, 2004). This relationship between trade, especially between maritime trade and Buddhism is explored in our period, it is important to note that Buddhism was not alone to follow maritime trade. Brāhmanical religion also went along; sites like Takuapa in the west coast of peninsular Thailand or Dhammarat on its east coast show considerable brahmanical presence. Moreover, sea voyage for trade involved complex operation and cooperation between different occupational groups: the *navikas*, the *mahānavikas*, who controlled the shipping aspect, the *vanijja*, who was a trader, the astronomer, who observed the heavenly bodies to ascertain the direction, etc. Such functional classification and presence of different occupational groups on the deck of a ship is attested in literary sources, which refer to these groups.[1]

Such an occupational diversity in association with maritime voyage is corroborated by the anthropological data of 1872 and folklores of Orissa. Folklores of Orissa refers to sailor, oarsmen, astronomer, and trader of a ship, indicating the diverse groups associated with sea voyage.[2]

In such situations to characterise sea voyage in terms of religion is to undermine the complexity of sailing. However, Buddhism had given importance to sea voyage. In contrast to brāhmanical injunction against sea voyage *(Manu Smṛti* III: 158), Buddhism actively supported maritime travel. Early iconographic representations of seafarers and associated dangers with sea voyage have been depicted in the art of Bharhut (Cunningham 1871-72: Pl. 34). Kanheri art represents, for the first time, Avalokiteśvara as a saviour for maritime traders (cave no. 90 dated to 6th century). He was called 'god of all *sarthavāhas*'. Avalokiteśvara as Saviour from Ten Great Perils has been represented on the wall of cave 2, 8, 41 and 90 of Kanheri. Sometime in 7th century, this role of a Saviour from great dangers was taken over by Aṣṭam-ahābhaya Tārā. This form of Tārā is first represented in cave 9 of Ellora, which has been assigned to the middle of the 7th century AD. The emergence of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā reflects the close relationship between Buddhism and seafaring activities. All the eight great perils are associated with trade. *Jalārṇava bhaya* represents Tārā saving the devotees from a sinking ship. This identification of Tārā with maritime activity and consequent popularity of Tārā cult in maritime Asia is attested by epigraphic and sculptural remains. The Dambal inscription of the time of Western Cālukyas, dated to 1095 AD, records an invocation of Tārā as a protector by the *śretthis* (Fleet 1881: 185-90). In fact, one of the names of Tārā is *Śarthavāha kripadṛṣṭi,* according to the *Ārya-Tārā-bhaṭṭarika-nāmashottaraśātaka-stotra* (Bloany 1895: 49) The Kalasan inscription in 778 AD in central Java attests to the popularity of Tārā worship in central Java (Sarkar 1971 I: 35-40). The folklores of Orissa also associates traders with the worship of Tārā. For instance, the folklore associated with the origin of Kakatpur refers to how goddess Maṅgala was worshipped in Sri Lanka as Tārā; a maritime trader brought her to the present site and worshipped her as Maṅgala (Mishra 1980). On close examination, Kakatpur Maṅgala reveals to be Buddhist goddess Tārā.[3]

Fig.6.1 : Avalokiteśvara as a saviour from perils, cave 90, Kanheri (7th century AD)

If we assume that maritime trader constituted one important social group, which supported Buddhism, thronged to Buddhist sites to worship and donated offerings to Tārā and Avalokiteśvara in particular, what are the evidences, which suggest that they were economically prosperous to make donation to Buddhist establishment of Orissa? [4]

Epigraphic and other evidence indicate a trade boom in the Indian Ocean between 7th-12th centuries AD. Orissa as a littoral region participated in the trade boom (discussed later in this chapter). Did religion, particularly Buddhism follow this trading boom in the Indian Ocean?

6.2 Emergence of Islam and Sri Lanka as Cultural Inspiration for Southeast Asian Buddhism in post-7th century AD

Two dominant views exist on the presence of various groups in the India Ocean trade of the Period. First is Andre Wink's approach, which considers that between 7th to 11th centuries AD Islamic Middle East acquired economic supremacy, while establishing new links between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. In his views, "in the period of Islamic expansion and hegemony in the east, one fact stands out: the growth and development of a world-economy in and around the Indian Ocean – with India at the centre and the Middle East and China as its dynamic poles – was effected by continued economic, social and cultural integration into the wider and more patterns under the aegis of Islam." (Wink 1990) This emergence of Islam as a cultural mover took place after the decline of Buddhism in India. He believed that before the rise of Islam Buddhism provided this cultural glue to the Indian Ocean trade but it declined after 7th century AD due to its assimilation into brāhmanical Hinduism "through the elaboration of Tāntric practices" (Wink 1990: 219-28). The assimilation of Buddhism and establishment of a brahmanical order resulted in trade being embedded in the regional economies.

Such a proposition has the following underpinnings: first, there was an Indian Ocean economy which expanded between 7th to 12th century AD; second, in this expansion Muslim trading diasporas played the dominant role, and third crescent followed trade which resulted in the gradual Islamisation of the Indian Ocean region. Fourth, the Crescent was the major cultural inspiration behind the Indian Ocean trade.

While historical evidence indicates a trade boom in the Indian Ocean between 7th to 12th centuries AD, the evidence does not support other contentions of Wink. In contrast, historical evidence indicates a more complex trading system. Moreover, maritime activity should not be identified with transoceanic trade in luxury items. Ethnographic evidence as well as the archival records shows a vibrant rice trade between Burma and Orissa in the 19th century. Salt, dried fish and other daily consumable items occupied a huge portion of the deck. Epigraphic records of Southeast Asia refer to *kling*, Ceylonese, Chinese as taxpaying traders in 10-13th centuries. A fundamental shortcoming in Wink's approach is the identification of cultural markers with religious ethnicity of the group. As documented later in his chapter, there is an increasing evidence of Sassanid pottery in Indian Ocean region from 7th-8th century AD onwards. But ceramic should not be identified with material culture as Wink has stated.[5] Site locations in India and Southeast Asia indicate that Buddhism of the period was closely allied with maritime trade. Both complemented each other in their mutual expansion and it was this aspect, which is dealt in the following sections.

The second dominant historigraphical trend is that as Buddhism declined in India in the post 6th-7th century AD, its spread in Southeast Asia in the same period was inspired by Ceylon, which was seen to represent Theravāda Buddhist tradition. This tradition of Sri Lanka as a source of Theravāda Buddhism is very popular in

Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia. Two traditions, namely the Golden Buddha and Emerald Buddha, which are extremely popular in Thailand, Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam, reinforce further this view of Sri Lanka as a homeland of 'authentic' Buddhism. However, historical evidence points out that Buddhism continued to spread to southeast Asia in the post-sixth century AD and that Buddhists continued to communities of southeast Asia continued to visited Buddhist sacred sites in India. Before discussing this spread of Buddhism from India, let us understand why Sri Lanka was seen as the place of authentic Buddhism in Burma, Thailand and Vietnam.

6.3 Sri Lanka as a Source of 'Authentic' Buddhism

The Emerald Buddha is extremely popular in Thailand and Cambodia. This image is produced by hundreds in miniature to be placed in domestic and other shrines and worn as an amulet. The story of Emerald Buddha is described in two Thai chronicles, the *Ratanabimbavaṁsa* (1450 AD), *Jinakalimali* (16th century AD) and in the *Amarakatabuddharupanidāna (*chronicle written in 16th century AD Vietnam). The latter two give more or less the same account. Written in three parts, the first epoch describes the origin of Emerald jewel, in which the monk Nāgasena features as the chief protagonist for a jewel image of Buddha; the second epoch describes the passage of the jewel from Pāṭaliputra in India to Sri Lanka and from there to Pagan, whose king Anuruddha was given a central role. The further travel of the image tells us how the jewel reaches Chiengmai. The third epoch describes the events that led to the jewel leaving Chiengmai and going to Lanchang in Laos and from their to Vietnam for 200 years until in 1778 a Thai general, who later replaced king Taskin to become the first Cakkri king, having defeated this Laotian principality, sent back to the Thai capital of Thonburi the Emerald Buddha (Jayawickrama 1968).

By far the most remarkable feature of this story is its travel from one principality to another, being a pawn as well as a moral gauge of their virtuous conduct. Wherever it is venerated, prosperity reigns there, and where there is civil turmoil and misrule it abandons that place and moves to a new place. It traversed five Buddhist lands of Southeast Asia from its initial place of Pāṭaliputra, namely Lankadvipa, Ramalakka, Dvaravati, Chiengmai, and Lan Chang (which cover territories in present-day Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand and Laos).

6.3.1 *Story of Siṁhala Buddha*

The Siṁhala Buddha has great significance in Thai consciousness, because it is associated in the Thai traditions with the first coming of pure Buddhism from Polonnaruvu in Sri Lanka to Sukhodaya in Thailand and Pagan in Burma in the thirteenth century.

The *Jinakālimālī* and the *Phrā Buddha* Sihing chronicle (written in 1416 AD by a monk named Bodhiransi) refer to the tradition of Siṁhala Buddha and its transfer. The Sinhala Buddha is believed to have been made in Sri Lanka about 700 years after the passing away of the Lord. But some 1800 years ago, it travelled to Thailand. According to *Jinakālimālī,* the Sinhalese king allowed the image to be dispatched to

Thailand upon receiving a request from king Ramkhamhaeng of Sukhodaya, who had been informed of the wondrous nature of the Sinhala image by the king of Nagara Śri Dharmarāja. The *Jinakālimālī* gives account of its miraculous powers and travels. King Ramkhamhaeng's successor honoured it. In the reign of Dhammarāja Lideya, Rāmādhipati, paramount lord of Kamboja kingdom, whose capital was the city of Chainat took the image to Āyudha and honoured it there. The king of Kamphaengphet, desiring to possess this fabulous image, sent his mother to seduce Rāmādhipati with pleasant words, and she managed to get hold of the image and dispatch it to her son. From there it went to Chiangrai, whose ruler Mahabrahma after hearing the wondrous nature of the image marched to Kamphaengphet to capture the image from king Tipanna. The *Jinakālimālī*, reporting the events of the coming of the Sinhala religious dispensation to northern contries records how a king of Chiengmai, Lakkhapuragrama, marched to Chiengmai, placed it in the Cedi Luang (great *cetiya*) and honoured it reverently. Then the *Jinakālimālī* talks of the nine places to which it changed places from Sri Lanka (Jayawickrama 1968: 115-130).

Similarly in Burma, the *Glass Palace Chronicle* refers to the revival of Buddhism under Anwratha in 11th century AD centring on Pagan. It contains a passage of special importance to a Buddhist country: Shin Arahan's first preaching to Anwratha. The sermon mentions places said to have received special relics of Buddha and probably reflects the centres, which in fact were of special concern to Anwratha at the time:

> "One portion of the relics (Buddha) Nāga took away and hid in his stomach, but the novice Sumana found it and offered it to Abhayadutthagamani, ruler of Ceylon island, who built a great *zedi*. The upper right Sakra took to Tavatimsa and worshipped it. The lower right tooth Nagas took away and worshipped in the Nāga country. The lower left tooth was brought from Kaliṅga kingdom to the island of Ceylon, and was ever worshipped by the kings of Tarop country, called Gandhala (Nanchao)." (*Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma:?* 73)

Anwratha, while uniting the lower and central Burma with upper Burma, led a campaign, which was couched in religious term as a mission to bring sacred relics to Pagan.

Thus, Sri Lanka as the source of pure Buddhism has to be found in the ideology of early Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese kingdoms during 11th-13th century AD. To an extent, this tradition of Sri Lanka as the soil of pure Buddhism is the result of religious revitalization under forest dwelling (*āranika*) monks, especially under monk Sumana in Thailand and Burma. But what is more important is the reason of this association of Sri Lanka as a source of tooth relic or emerald Buddha or Siṁhala Buddha or in other words as common source of inspiration for Buddhist revival in Burma or Thailand or in Vietnam, *i.e.* in northern countries of mainland Southeast Asia. This increasing emphasis on Sri Lanka as the source of Therāvāda Buddhism needs explanation. In contrast to India, which was the original homeland of Buddhism, Sri Lanka was considered as representing the model *dhamma rāya* or righteous king in Thailand and Burma. This is not only limited to the Tooth Relic traditions invoked in Burma or the myth of Ceylonese Buddha image. The prominent place Sri Lanka enjoyed in the Buddhist world is also known from one of the inscriptions of central

Java. The Buddhist inscription of Ratu Baka refers to the foundation of Abhayagiri *vihāra* by the Ceylonese in the prosperous kingdom of the Sailendra king Sermottunga, which was evidently modeled on the more famous Ceylonese counterpart in Anuradhāpur (Sarkar1971 I: 48).

This invocation of Sri Lanka in the Buddhist literature of Southeast Asia does not indicate that the Indian connection was forgotten. Bodh Gayā had always maintained its sanctity as the most sacred Buddhist sites and the Chinese and Burmese inscriptions at Bodh Gayā attest to the sacred position of Bodh Gayā (Cunningham 1892:70-71).[6]

The explanation for this is to be sought in the context in which Buddhism flourished in Burma and Thailand and their possible model in Sri Lanka. From the days of Tissa in 2nd century BC there was a close connection between *saṅgha* and the state in Sri Lanka, and the state recognised Buddhism as the state religion. Throughout the ancient period of Ceylon's history, as long as the capital was Anuradhāpur, the *Mahāsaṅgha* residents at the *mahāvihāra* enjoyed a privileged position in the appointment of king. As 'state religion' the monasteries were "centres of national culture, and *bhikkhus* were the teachers of the whole nation-from prince to peasants." (Rahula 1956: 77). They helped the king to rule the country in peace. It was the duty of the *bhikkhus*, according to the *Vinaya*, to side with the king.

They used their influence over the masses to support the king, who in return, looked after the interest of the *saṅgha*. There was a symbiotic relationship between the fortune of the Anuradhapur state and fortune of the *saṅgha*.[7] The same relationship continued in the Polonnaruvu phase under Vijayabāhu and Parākramabahu. It was during the latter's reign that tooth relic cult grew up. The history of the holy relic is given in the Pali text *Dathavamsa*, which was written around the beginning of the 13th century by Rājaguru Dhammakitti (Law: 1925).

These close relationships between *Saṅgha* and state provided the model for the Mon State under Anwratha or in Sukhodaya or Chieng mai in 13th century. Anawrahta's campaign and unification of Burma was couched in religious term as a mission to gain the sacred tooth relic (Stargardt 1970: 50).[8] The *Glass Palace* records that the Thaton campaign of Anwratha brought scriptures from Thaton to Pagan 'on the back of thirty-two white elephants' (*Glass Palace Chronicle:* 409–413).

The Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya and Chiengmai in northern Thailand closely identified themselves with the *saṅgha* and the vice versa was also equally true.[9] This close symbiosis between the state and *saṅgha* had its model in Sri Lanka where *Mahāsaṅgha* of Anuradhapur and the state had very close relationship. Such a model never existed in India where, except Aśoka, no other king or state so openly allied with Buddhism as it was in Sri Lanka.

6.4 Buddhism in Southeast Asia after 7th century AD—Continued Indian connection

While the literary evidence and present tradition refer to preponderance of Siṁhala in the spread of Buddhism in mainland and maritime Southeast Asia, the

archaeological evidence points to the Indian connection. Contrary to general perception that Buddhism in southeast Asia was revitalized in the post-7th century AD with the Ceylonese inspiration, archaeological evidence indicates continued Indian connection in the Buddhism of Southeast Asia. Before evidence of Indian connection in the spread of Buddhism is further explored in the next section, let us examine two important monuments of maritime Southeast Asia, the World heritage site of Borobodur and Candi Mendut.

6.4.1 *Borobodur, Buddhist maṇḍalas and Buddhism in Southeast Asia in post-7th century AD*

In the chapter on *maṇḍalas* (Chapter 3), we have referred to the fact that Buddhist *stūpa* and sculptural *maṇḍalas* became quite widespread in Orissa and eastern India from 6th-7th century AD. Two important *maṇḍalas*, of which we have numerous examples, are the *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala* and *Vajradhātu maṇḍalas*. The Udayagiri *mahāstūpa* was a *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala*, whereas we have numerous examples of sculptural *Vajradhātu maṇḍalas* from Ratnagiri. The Shingon Buddhism of Japan is based on these twin *maṇḍalas*. It went to Japan from India via China. Three important Buddhists with whom the transfers of twin *maṇḍalas* are associated were Subhakarasiṁha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.

Subhakarasiṁha was a central Indian prince who studied at Nālandā and Ratnagiri. He visited many countries including Sri Lanka in a merchant ship. In time, he proceeded to Gāndhāra from where he travelled to China (Yi-liang 1945). Included among the texts which he brought to China were the *Mahavairocanabhisambodhi*, which he translated into Chinese in 725 AD, and an iconographic copybook in his own hand of the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala* is a concentric circle in which deities are assigned particular position and direction.) deities of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*, the latter surviving in early Japanese copies and known as the *Gobushinkan* (Yamamoto 1990(tr) *Mahāvairocana sūtra)*.

Amoghavajra, on the other hand, was a native of Sri Lanka and went to China on a merchant ship via Southeast Asia. At the age of fifteen, he became a disciple of Vajrabodhi. After the death of his master, Amoghavajra travelled to India and Sri Lanka, where he received national honour. In south India, he met Nāgabodhi and was able to bring back many Tāntric texts to China, which he subsequently translated. Amoghavajra also took with him the 7th century AD text *Tattvasaṁgraha*, which is one of the esoteric texts of Vajrayāna Buddhism. Vajjrabodhi, the preceptor of Amoghavajra also translated the same text into Chinese. Vajrabodhi, before reaching China, stopped over at Srivijaya in 718 AD and according to one Chinese source Amoghavajra met Vajrabodhi in Java and became his disciple.[10] Kukai, who introduced Shingon Buddhism in Japan, was a successor of Hui Kuo who, in turn, was the follower of Amoghavajra.

Important to note is that Vajrabodhi stopped over at Java in 718 AD and may have converted Amoghavajra to the Buddhist *maṇḍala*. It is important to note that both Borobodur and Candi Mendut are *stūpa maṇḍalas*, while the first is a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala stūpa*, the Candi Mendut is a *Garbhadhātu stūpa maṇḍala*, and hence is based

on esoteric Buddhism of *Tattvasaṁgraha* and *Mahāvairocana-bhisambodhi.* Around 10th century AD two old Javanese texts on esoteric Buddhism, namely the *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan* (hereafter *SHK*) and the *Syang Hyang Kamahayanan (*hereafter *SHKM*) were compiled in Java. Both the texts also elaborate the *Vajradhātu* and *Garbhadhātu mahāmaṇḍala* (Kats 1910).

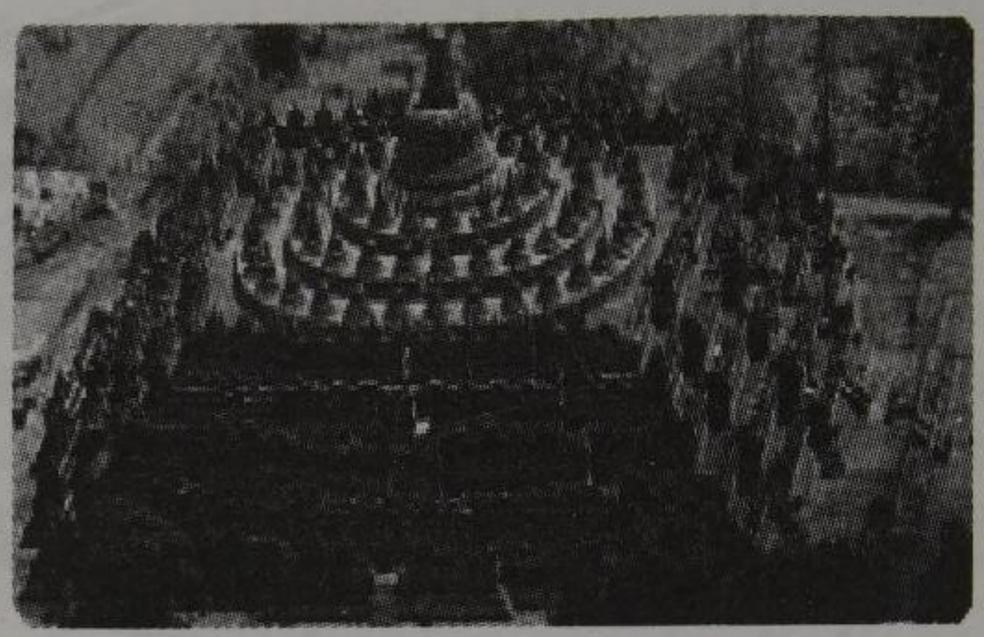


Fig 6.2 : Borobodur: A *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* stūpa(8th century)

Borobodur is a grand *stūpa maṇḍala* with nine successive terraces. (Lundquist 1997: 283-306). Built some time in the later half of 8th century AD, Borobodur contains as many as 504 Buddha images placed geometrically in nine terraces. From the foot and first gallery one finds four kinds of Buddhas, with different *mudrās* in each direction. The Buddhas at the fourth gallery have the same *mudrās* and are facing four directions. The total number of the five Buddhas is 43, then at the circular terrace seventy-two Buddhas are placed in latticed *stūpa.* The *mudrās* of the six kinds of Buddhas in Borobodur are as follows:

Table 6.1: Postures of Buddhas in Borobodur *stūpa*

Direction	East	West	North	South	Four direction	Circular terrace
Mudrās (Hand postures)	*bhūmisparśa*	*Dhyāna*	*abhaya*	*varada*	*Vitarka*	*dharmacakara*

The *Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala* as described in the *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvalī* 19 and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* has four Bodhisattvas surrounding a Dhyāni Buddhas on the third circle. Thus a set of four Bodhisattvas is linked to a particular Dhyāni Buddha, and the *maṇḍala* has four Dhyāni Buddhas and sixteen Bodhisattvas, apart from Vairocana, who is at the centre and the alignment of other Dhyāni Buddhas are thus: *i.e.* Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west, Amoghasiddhi in the north (refer to section on the Buddhist *maṇḍalas* in Orissa chapter 3). Here seventy-two Buddhas in the circular terrace with *dharma-cakrapravartana mudrā* represent Vairocana, for he is described in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* thus: "Bhagwan Vairocana is dwelling permanently in the whole of space and his works of body, speech and mind are steadfast like *vajra."* (Chapter 1 *Tattvasaṁgraha*).[11]

So *maṇḍala* form of Buddhism went to Java from India in the middle of the 8th century AD. There are numerous other instances of continued Indian connection in in Southeast Asia Buddhism.

6.5 Juxtaposition of port-and Buddhist sites in Southeast Asia (7th-12th century AD)

The Arakan range makes the Arakanese coast sheltered from central and upper

Burma. To the west its access to the Gangetic delta was not difficult, and both archaeological and cultural evidence attest to intercourse between the Arakan coast and India. The Arakan coast was linked to India overland through Chattagrama and through sea. After the decline of Tamralipti due to silting of river Rupnarayan, Chattagrama emerged as an important port. Riverine traffic in deltaic Bangladesh ensured that the port of call was further inland than on the coast. In the Lalmai hill area in the present-day Commila district of Bangladesh, an inscription dated to 508 AD records the donation of property to a Buddhist institution (Morrison 1974).

In Pyu and Mon Burma, the main centre of maritime trade was Ramannaadesa in lower Burma, where the principal Buddhist centre was Thaton. Thaton was described in the *Glass Palace Chronicle* as an important centre of Buddhism. Anwratha led a campaign and brought from Thaton Buddhist sacred literature on the back of thirty-two white elephants (*Glass Palace Chronicle:* 74).

However, equally important was the overland trade route that connected India with Yunan province of China, and which goes through upper and central Burma. It was along this route that trade flourished during the Pyu and Pagan period. There were at least two land routes that connected Assam and Bangladesh with Yunan via Burma. One is through Upper Burma while the second one descended on to central Burma before passing on to India (Stargardt 1970: 43). It was this route that enjoyed greater importance and attracted more traffic in 8th century AD. Prominent Buddhist centers along this route included Sri Kshetra (old Prome) Pagan. I-tsing referred to this route (Stargardt ibid.). One of the Tamil inscriptions of the Tamil merchant group *Nanadeshi* was found from Pagan (Christie 1996:17). Salt, gold, serpentine and amber mines were exploited at this time and were noteworthy articles of trade. Of special interest to the Chinese and Indians were the gold-bearing sands of the river Irrawaddy.

Takuapa[12] on the northwest coast of peninsular Thailand is near the vital Isthumus Kra region and has yielded brāhmanical images. From Takuapa on the northwest coast lies the land routes that connected it with the Chaiya province on the east coast. Ko ko Kharo (near Takuapa) and Laem pho (near Chaiya) are rich in Middle eastern glass and ninth century Chinese ceramics (Ho et al. 1990). On the north and north-eastern coast of Malaysian peninsula, there were several sites that attest to the presence of Buddhism in the post-5th century AD. At Pong-tuk, where Mekong river enters the delta of lower Siam, a Buddhist settlement existed (Coedes 1962). The Chinese sources refer to P'an-pa'n in northern Malaysian peninsula as a place of Buddhist settlement in 6th century AD. It has been stated that in 527, 530 and 536 AD the king of P'an-p'an sent envoys to the Chinese emperor with gift of Buddha's tooth relic, painted *stūpa* and leaves of Bo-tree (Wheatley 1959:49). Close to Mebrok estuary in northwest Malaysian peninsula is the port site of Takuapa which has yielded evidence of brahmanical and Buddhist presence from 5th century AD. It has also yielded inscription of the Tamil merchant group, *Manigrāmam* (Lamb 1964). From Takuapa a route lay across a low-hill to Tambralinga in the Caiya district in the Bay of

Bandon area of east coast. Taking this overland route one reaches Bay of Bandon sites like Dhammarat and Ligor. A fragmentary Tamil inscription of uncertain provenance is held in the collection of the Wat Mahas at Nakhom Sri Dhammarat, the most famous Buddhist establishment on the eastern coast of peninsular Malaysia (Coedes 1962: xxix). Humpon, Caiya, Bandon river valley and Nakhom Sri Dhammarat were famous Buddhist centres in the region. Nakhom was the greatest Buddhist site. The mass of terracotta votive tablets in the caves give an indications of early Buddhist activity around 5th century AD (Sarkar 1970: 121–131). Below it is Ligor from which the Ligor Inscription of Srivijaya king Viṣṇu from the Bay of Bandon, dated to 775 AD has been found. There are several Tamil inscriptions along this route(Ho *et al.* 1990). Further north in the northern Malaysian state of Perilis, votive tablets impressed with Avalokiteśvara have been dated as late as 12th century AD (Wolter 1970: 134).

Two other belts that have yielded evidence of Buddhist presence in the Malaysian peninsula are Muda and Bujang valley, which lay south of Mebrok estuary. Bujang valley has yielded the famous inscription of navigator Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā (dated to 4th-5th century AD) (Chabra 1965: 24). Two audience halls and two Mahāyānist temples seem to have been built between 750-900 centuries AD (Sarkar 1970:124). In Bujang valley *stūpa* of 5th century AD was explored by Wales. It has also yielded Śaivite shrine (*ibid*).

The main Buddhist concentration, on the west coast below the Bujang valley is in Kedah and Perak valley. Various sites of these two belts have yielded some of the early specimens of Buddhist bronze images, dating to 4th-5th century AD. It is to be noted that Kedah and Perak valley are situated in one of the largest tin belts of the world. The Kedah Buddha images betray strong influences of Late Ikṣakhu art (Sarkar 1985: 213).

On the southern Perak coast of Malaysia is the site Kuala Selinsing, situated in the vicinity of the rich tin field of Matang. Numerous sites belonging to 7th-9th century AD have been found from the area and radio-carbon datings take the antiquity of some of the sites to 2nd century AD. A bronze image of Avalokiteśvara was found from Selingsing (Wolter 1970: 134). Bukti Meriam has yielded an inscription which is like the seal of Buddhagupta.[13] Cherok Tokum Inscription, found near Bukit Meriam, refers to Manikatha, the protector of great Buddhas. Archaeological explorations by Mr. and Mrs Wales, and subsequently by the University of Malay have yielded many stone tablets in Kedah with Buddhist formulae dating from 6th to 9th century AD. These sites in Kedah and Wellesely include Matang Pasir, which yielded the remnants of a Buddhist shrine, dated to 9th-10th century AD and Tikam Baku, which belongs to 12th century AD (Sarkar 1985).

In the eastern segment of Malaysia in Borneo/ Kalimantan, the *yūpa* inscription of Mulavarman, dated to 4th century AD is the earliest epigraphic reference of Indian connection but the main Buddhist concentration is found in western Borneo by the side of river Kapuas. These sites belong to post-7th century AD. Seven inscriptions on

a rock at Batu Pahat, near the spring of Tekarek, have been incised on carved figures and each one of them depicts a long staff with successive series of umbrella at the top indicating Vajrayāna affiliation of the site. Other sites in West Borneo include Sepauk and Palangai Sabong, the latter yielding gold and silver images of Buddha, which are found from Sambas (Chabra 1965).

In East Borneo Mount Kombeng region has yielded many brahmanical and Buddhist images, including images of Vajrapāṇi. A stone image of Mañjūśrī was also found from a site between Gunung Kupang and Karang Intan, district Martapur, in the residency of South and east Borneo (Sarkar 1985: 47). The bronze Buddha image from Kota Bangun in the province of Kutei was destroyed by fire in the Paris Exhibition of 1931.

6.5.1 *Sumatra*

On the other hand regions around the Strait of Malacca played crucial role in the maritime trade owing to their strategic location. On the northern-most point of Sumatra is Ache where a Tamil-language inscription has been found at Neusch Ache, at the eastern end of the Bay, on the east coast of Ache (Christie 1998: 257-258). Further south up to Kota Cina, near Medar, many sites have yielded several stone statues of clear south Indian inspiration, along with large quantities of Chinese ceramics and Middle Eastern glass and Ceylonese coins of early 13th century AD (Mc Kinnon 1994:15-24). In Sumatra, which forms the core of Srivijaya Empire in 7th century, the Buddhist presence is concentrated in Palembang and Jambi in northern Sumatra. Malgai *stūpa* of Muara Takus, Padang caves yielded many Buddhist remains. In Palembang, images of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya have been found from the confluence of river Komaring and river Masi. These images can be dated to 7th century AD onwards and resemble closely with the Pāla art. When the capital of Śrivijaya was shifted from Palembang to further north to Jambi to control more effectively the maritime route, Jambi became a centre of Buddhism. In Jambi have been found two beautiful Buddha images. An image of dancing Heruka is found at the main temple of Bairo Baha I in the Tapanuli region, which is dated to 11th century AD. A Lokanātha image flanked by Tārā is found at Gunung Tha in Tapanuli. In the ruins of Muara Takus *vajras* have been found engraved on small gold sheets (Sarkar 1985:227). On the west coast is the early port site of Lobo Tua, just north of Barus, which has yielded a Tamil-language inscription, dated to Śaka era 1010 AD. It records a gift made by the *Nanadeśa-tisaivirttu Ainnaurrvar* (the All countries) (Sastry 1937: 314-27). The site of Lobo Tua has also yielded large quantities of Middle Eastern glass and Chinese ceramics dating to 11th to 13th centuries AD.

6.5.2. *Java*

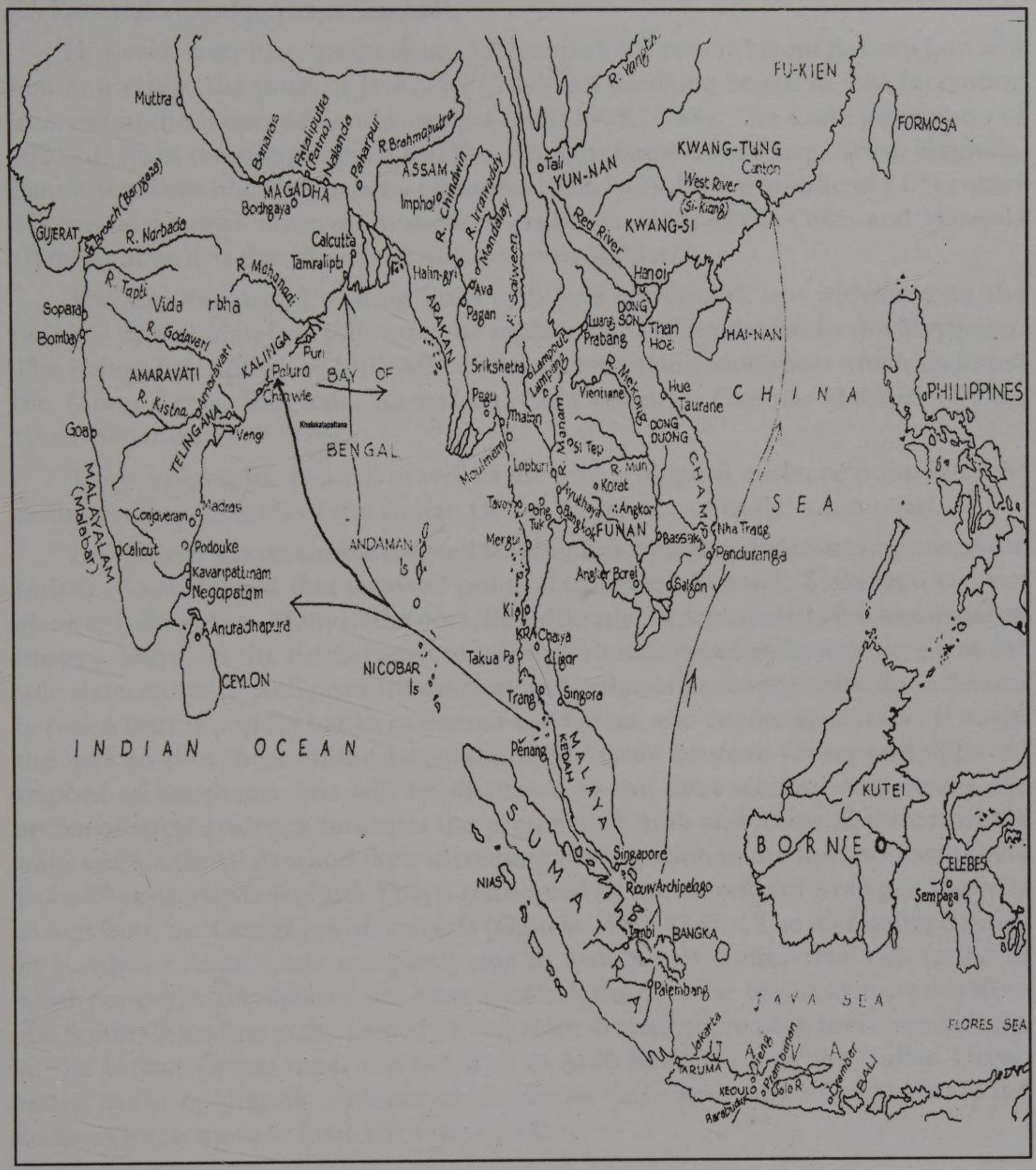
Buddhism made great progress in Java from 7th century AD onwards as the Sailendras patronised it and built splendid monuments. The Buddhist concentration is found at first in south-central Java and from 10th century AD from Brantas delta of east Java when the Sailendra empire expanded to Brantas delta. Apart from the

structural remains of Buddhism there are many epigraphic records in Sanskrit, Tamil and old Javanese in Kawi script, which refer to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Java. And it continued in east Java as late as 13th-14th century AD. One of the earliest inscriptions of central Java is the Kalasan Inscription of 778 AD which records the construction of Kalasan Temple for Ārya Tārā. It also mentions the construction of the image of Ārya Tārā and a dwelling place for the monks of Mahāyāna school (Sarkar 1971: 34). Further northeast is the Prambanan valley, the most important of which is Jonggrang group of temples, which is principally a Saivite centre but yielded many images of Buddha. In its close proximity is the site Kelurak which has yielded the Kelurak Inscription, dated to 782 AD (Sarkar 1971: 41). The inscription refers to the installation of Mañjūśrī image, who has been identified in the inscription with the brāhmanical trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva.

Further north are the famous temple of Mendut, Candi Pavon and Borobodur constituting one whole. Candi Mendut is the earliest of the three and was constructed by the Sailendra king Indra in late 8th century AD. The Karangtenah Inscription, dated 824 AD, refers it as *Venuvana bhikhyum Jinamandiram* in line 21 (Casparis 1950: 39). Candi Mendut is a *Garbhadhātustu-stūpa maṇḍala,* like the Udayagiri *Mahāstūpa* of Orissa. The *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala* is elaborated in chapter three of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra,* translated and taken to China by *Śubhakarasiṁha* of Orissa. On the other hand, the famous Borobodur is a *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala stūpa.* With nine successive receding terraces and a bell-shaped *stūpa* as the centre of the topmost terrace, the devotee gradually ascends, both physically and spiritually to the top (Krom 1986; Lundqust 1997).

One impetus to the spread of Buddhism to east Java came in 10th century AD when the Javanese state expanded from Mataram to Brantas delta under the Kadiri and Singhasari dynasties. Many images of Dīpaṅkara Buddha have been found from Ponk Tuk, Quang-nam, Bukit Senguntang and other places in east Java (Ray 1994: 186). Buddhism continued in the Majapahit court with sites like Candis of Javi, Paoh, Jaḃung, Suvarna and Pari emerging as important Buddhist establishments in 13th century AD.

It is around 10th century AD that two old Javanese texts on esoteric Buddhism, namely the *Sang Hang Kamahayanikan* (hereafter *SHK)* and the *Syang Hyang Kamahayanan* (hereafter *SHKM*) were compiled in Java. Both the texts also elaborate the *Vajradhatu- and Garbhadhatu mahāmaṇḍala* (Kats 1910). In central Java is found large quantities of Tang Chinese ceramics. From 10th century AD when the Mataram state expanded to the agriculturally fertile Brantas delta in the east, there is an increasing epigraphic evidence of tax-paying traders of the Indian Ocean and China anchoring and trading in the eastern seaports of Java. The list of these tax-paying foreign traders shifted over time. The earliest inscription is in the Javanese charter of Kuti (Sarkar 1971: xii). The inscription of Kalirungn in the Kedu Plain, where Borobodur is located, also refers to these tax-paying foreigners (Boechari n.d. Kalirungan). The list of tax-paying foreigners (*wargga kilalan*) in these two records include people from mainland Southeast Asia from Campa, Reman (Rammanadeas, lower Burma), Kmira (Cambodia),



MAP No. 7
TRADE ROUTES OF BAY OF BENGAL

while the listed South Asian came from Kling(Kaliṅga), Āryaputra (Ayyavole), Pandarika (in Karnataka) and perhaps Singhala.

However, later inscriptions from 10th century AD onward from Eastern Java add new entrants to the ports of Java. The Colas and the Sung began to take increasing interests in the waters of Southeast Asia (Hall 1978:75-98). The Cane Inscription of 1021 AD from the Brantas delta lists foreign merchants from Kling, Aryya, Singhala, Pandarika, Drawida, Campa, etc. (Brandas 1913: lviii). By the middle of 11th century AD two new names came up in these inscriptions – that of the Colas and Malayala (Kerala) as well as the (Boechari *n.d. Garaman 1053 AD*).

The uninterrupted trading links with Java continued, not withstanding the political upheaval in Java following the replacement of Singhasari by the Majapahit. The Balawi Inscription of 1305 AD refers to a tax-paying foreigners which included the Kling, Aryya, Singhala, Karnataka, Cina (China), Campa, Mandisi (?), etc (Poertbatjaraka 1936: 378).

These epigraphic records as well as the archaeological evidence point out four distinguishing features of the Indian Ocean trade, east of India' s east coast.

First, there was an uninterrupted trading link between different regions of the Indian Ocean littoral that survived political upheaval. Second, Buddhism was not alone to follow trade. Many of the port-sites of Southeast Asia also yielded brahmanical images. Third, in the furtherance of trade economic/market factors were not the sole determinants. Religious interaction and cultural exchange, like the relations between Burma and Sri Lanka or Burma and Orissa, also encouraged trade. It was in the backdrop of these cultural exchanges that trade between Orissa and different regions of Southeast Asia will be discussed in the next section. And finally the archaeological evidence indicates the presence of Arab and Sassanid traders in the waters of Southeast Asia and their increasing participation in the Indian Ocean trade from 7th century AD onward. This is reinforced by the account of Arab geographers as well from the Geniza Jewish records (Goitein 1980: 43-66). The increasing interest in Southeast Asian trade was partly due to widespread commercial cultivation of black pepper in Java around this time. Similarly the Chinese began to move out from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean zone. But the increasing presence of Arabs in the Indian Ocean water did not lead to Arab dominance of the Indian Ocean water. As the epigraphic evidence of Java shows there were numerous players in the Indian Ocean up to at least 13th century AD.

6.6 Role of Kaliṅga

Vajrabodhi, the preceptor of Amoghavajra, went to China through the sea-lanes. He first went from a port of South India on a Persian ship and from there, through the 10 degree channel went to Malaysia through the Strait of Malacca and from there he went to China. I-tsing also followed the same route. He left from the port of Tamralipti, took the coastal route to northeastern Sri Lanka and from there went through the Strait of Malacca.

In contrast, Subhakarasiṁha of Orissa went overland to China. But before that, he undertook a spiritual journey to different regions and found accommodation on a merchant ship, and visited many countries including Sri Lanka (Yi- liang 1945: 254–63). Another Chinese source records that the Chinese emperor Te-tsung received in 795 AD the gift of an autographed manuscript containing the last section of the *Avataṁsaka*, called *Gandavyuha* treating the practice and vow of the Bodhisattva Sāmantabhadra. The king who sent this autographed manuscript was an ardent follower of Mahāyāna and whose name, rendered into Chinese means " the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." He has been identified as king Śubhakarasiṁha of the Bhaumakara dynasty of Orissa (Lēvi 1919-20: 263-364). The manuscript and a letter were entrusted to monk *prajñā* for translation. Prajñā, born in Kapisa in the northwest India, had begun his studies in northern India, continued them in Madhyadeśa, resided in Nālandā and visited many sacred places, thus passing eighteen years in learning prior to settling in a monastery in Orissa to study yoga.

The *Gandavyūha* section also deals with Sudhanakumāra's journey in search of truth. The narrative relief of the second gallery of Borobodur depicts this story of Sudhanakumāra (Krom 1986). Sudhanakumāra's journey is quite instructive one from the point of view of Buddhism. The places he visited in the first leg of his journey are all in the *Dakṣiṇa Patha*, and not in classical Buddhist belt of north India or Madhya-deśa. Second, his travel also includes travel by sea, which is depicted on relief no. 41 of Borobodur as well to places of Orissa, which included Amita Tosala (Relief no. 39 which depicts Sudhana meeting *Parivrājaka* Sarvagrāmin) and Kaliṅgavana in Srona-pasanta, where he met bhikhhuṇi Sinyhavya-sambhita (relief no 90) (Krom 1986).

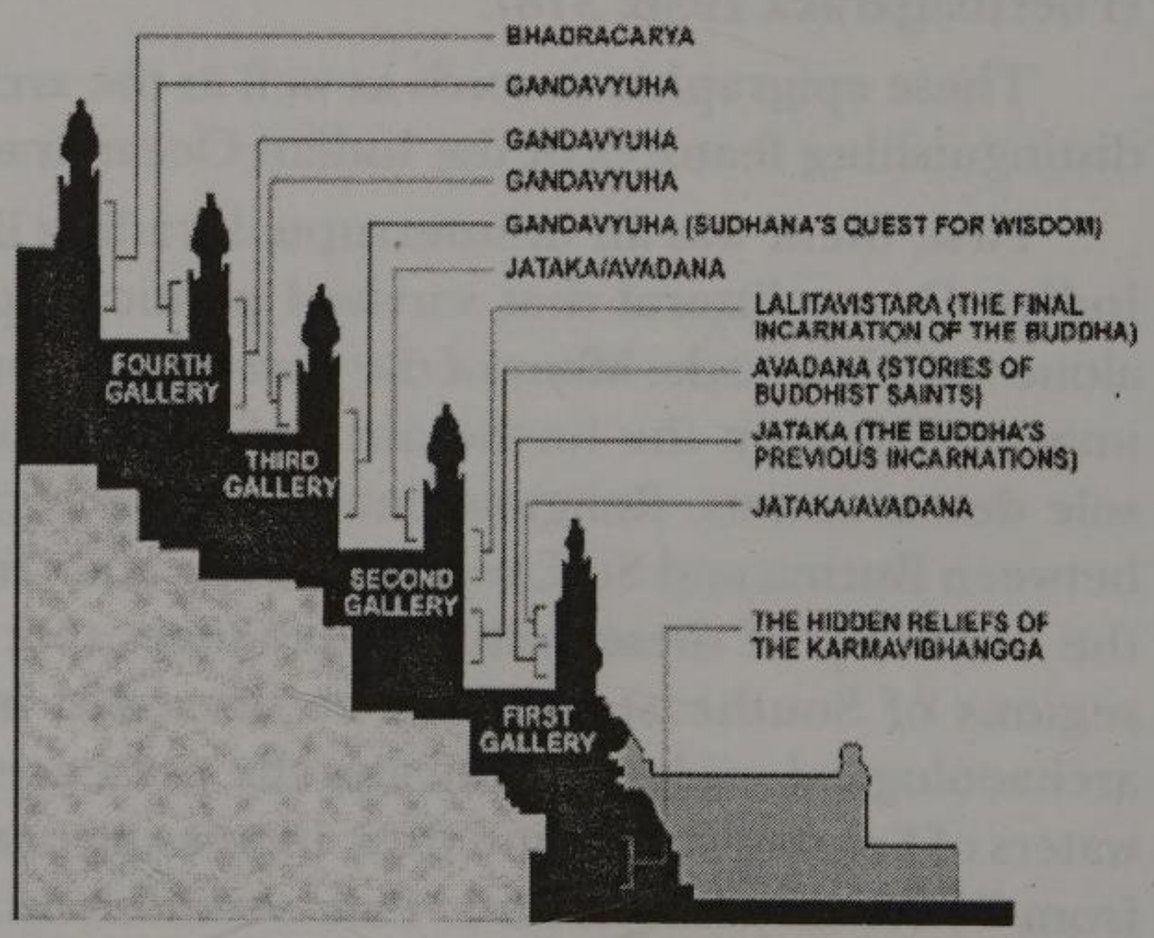


Fig.6.3 : Schematic arrangement of different themes in different galleries of Borobodur.

The literary evidence of the spread of Buddhism points out the close relation between merchants and spread of Buddhism. And the dyad of interaction was not between India on the one hand and China on the other. In between lies the vast stretch of mainland, peninsular and maritime Southeast Asia, which were involved in this maritime and cultural exchange. On the other hand, many regions played a varied role in this interaction.

For instance, the *Glass palace Chronicle* refers to the special relation between Burma on the one hand and Kaliṅga and Sri Lanka on the other. The text refers to centres, which in fact were of special concern to Burma. They included Sri Lanka, Nāga country, Kaliṅga, and Gandhalo (Nanchao) (*Glass Palace Chronicle:* 73).

Anwratha's special interest in Kaliṅga was an extension of possible economic contact. The ports of Orissa were directly connected to Arakan coast as well with the lower Burmese coast of Thaton province. It may be due to the popularity of tooth Relic cult as Tooth relic was taken from Orissa to Sri Lanka, and from there, to Burma. Anwratha supported the Kaliṅga prince ruling in Sri Lanka, who was engaged in as struggle with the Cola kingdom (*Glass Palace Chronicle:* 88-91).

The same can be said about Orissa's relation with Sri Lanka. Buddhism acted as a facilitator in furthering contact between the two regions. The Pāli text, the *Dathavaṁsa,* refers to the circumstances in which the Tooth Relic was transferred from Kaliṅga to Sri Lanka in 310 AD (*Dathavaṁsa:* 152-158).[14] This is followed by many other levels of contact between the two regions.

These levels of contact mutually reinforced each other to deepen relations between the two regions. In the early historical context, Rouletted ware have been found all along the coast from Tamralipti to Anuradhapur indicating coastal networks connecting the coastal regions of India's east coast. Later, in 12th century AD, Gaṅgā *fanams* have been found from the port sites of Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka (Vitharana 1999: 184). Sahasamalla coins, belonging to 12th century AD Sri Lanka has been found from the excavation of Barabati fort and Manikpatna (Rao 2000: 663-80).

While archaeological evidence of early contact between Orissa and maritime Southeast Asia has been highlighted by various scholars, the levels of such contact between 7th to 12th century AD have not been adequately dealt.[15]

Recent excavations and explorations have brought to light many port sites of Orissa. Manikpatna, which was an early historical port site but continued up to 14th century, yielded coins of Sasamalla as well as Chinese celadon and porcelain (Pradhan 2000:473-94). Another port-site of Chilka region, Gaurangapatna with its early historical antiquity, has yielded Persian turquoise glazed ware of 9th-11th century AD period (Basa 2000 575-80). Further north, near Konark was excavated the port-site of Khallakattapatana, which has yielded Chinese celadon, porcelain as well as Middle eastern pottery of 9th -10th century AD (Nigam 2000). Excavation of Khallakattapatana and Potagarh also brought out two Chinese copper coins of late Song Period. Exploration of the coast below Rushikulya reveals sherds of Chinese Celadon (Tripati 1995: 65).[16]

These archaeological evidence points out to Orissa's participation in the trade boom in the Indian Ocean from 9th to 13th centuries AD. This boom was primarily propelled by increasing demand for South Asian textile as well due to commercial cultivation of pepper in Java owing to its demand in Chinese and European market. In these expansion, the Arabs as well the Chinese participated. The Chinese emperor in 1023 AD advised merchants to avoid the Silk Route, which was growing increasingly dangerous, and to send missions to China by sea itself (Wong 1979: 15). The epigraphic records of India as well as the Middle Eastern ware were evidence of Arab presence in the India Ocean. And the findings of the Chinese coins, porcelain, Celadon as well as turquoise blue glaze ware[17] in Orissa point out Orissa as a node in

this Indian Ocean network.[18] Even before 10th century AD, the central Javanese inscriptions refer to seafaring traders of Kaliṅga.

What role did Buddhism play in Orissa in facilitating trade? Distributions of port sites and Buddhist establishment suggests that except Kuruma establishment, which is in close proximity to Khallakattapatana, there are no other Buddhist sites which are near the port sites. However, many such Buddhist establishments were found along the inland riverine route. In the Bhargavi-Daya belt, which linked Mahānadī delta with the ports of Chillika region, there are many Buddhist establishments like Dhauli and Aragarh. There is no archaeological material supporting riverine trade but the ethnographical evidence shows that they were used in the transportation of seafish in 19th century AD (Hunter 1872). However, the distribution of the Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins along the tributary of Mahānadī-Cuttack district, particularly Birupa-Chitrotpala valley indicates the existence of a riverine route in 4th century AD (Mishra 1997). Along these valleys are found the huge Buddhist establishments of Orissa, notably Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri as well as Buddhist establishments of Kaima.

Iconographic evidence also indicates possible relations between traders and Buddhism. As discussed Tārā was specially associated with trades. She, in her Aṣṭamahābhaya form, rescues traders from the dangers of oceanic voyage. Images of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā are found from Ratnagiri in Jajpur and Sheragarh in Balasore district. Moreover Tārā was the most popular deity in Ratnagiri, if votive *stūpa* indicates the cult preference of pilgrims. The niches of these donatory *stūpas* contain the images of the favorite deities of the pilgrim and Tārā images are found in the largest number in such *stūpas* (99 in total). Given the popularity of Tārā among traders, some could have been donated by traders.

Such transoceanic trade and spread of Buddhism result in interaction between Orissa on the one hand and southeast Asia and other cultures. Earlier scholars have pointed out the close similarity between Early Pagan architecture and Kalinga-style architecture (Ghosh 1932: 57). Debaprasad Ghosh has, long ago, shown the similarity between Buddha images of Prambanan and Borobodur and Buddha images of Ratnagiri. Phalgundai recently compiled a *Balinese-English dictionary* in which he compiled loan words in Balinese language. He found the largest Oriya loan words in Balinese language (Phalgundai 1995).

I could not examine the iconographic similarities between Buddhist images of Orissa and Indonesia. But what is striking is the location, and textual inspiration of Ratnagiri and Udayagiri *stūpa* on the one hand and Borobodur and Candi Mendut on the other. As discussed earlier, Candi Mendut and Borobodur were part of one Pilgrimage complex. The main entrance of Mendut is in the southern side so that pilgrims coming from the grand edifice of Borobodur will enter the main entrance of Mendut. They are situated at a distance of three km. Ratnagiri and Udayagiri are three km apart. But what is interesting is the design. Both groups are *stūpa maṇḍalas.* While Mendut was modelled on *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala,* as the Udayagiri *Stūpa,* Borobodur is a modeled on *vajradhatu maṇḍala,* like Ratnagiri. However, Borobodur was a grand *stūpa maṇḍala* with nine successive terraces (Lundquist 1997: 283–306).

What is striking is almost the simultaneous construction of these four *maṇḍala stūpas* in 8th century AD. While Borobodur and Mendut were constructed in the middle of 8th century AD, iconographic styles of Dhyani Buddhas of such *maṇḍalas* at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri indicate same time frame. Given Orissa'a association with the origin of *Maṇḍala* as well as its diffusion through the Malaccan strait (as Amoghavajra, the main protagonist of *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* in China), it is possible that the model was partly inspired by the Orissan counterpart, However, examination of alignment of Buddhas as well as their cognizance of Mendut with the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala stūpa* of Udayagiri suggests numerous difference (Singhal 1991: 373-83). Notwithstanding the difference, the presence of tax-paying Kaliṇga merchants in Kedu Plain, similarities between Buddha images of Ratnagiri and Borobodur, *stūpa maṇḍalas* of these two sites and Orissa as an early source of *maṇḍalas,* the inspiration for such *stūpa maṇḍalas* might have come from Orissa.

REFERENCES

1. A folk song of Balasore refers to *majhi* (oarsmen), *maljhani* (who puts up sail and helmsman, who controls the rudder. (Mohapatra 1994: 123-124). The epigraphic records refer to *vanikas, puraśresthis* (*JBORS* 6(2) : 236-40).
2. Title like *daṇḍachatra chalaka* (helms man), *majhi, keuta,* and *kaibarta are* found among the fishing communities of Cuttack and Balasore (Hunter 1872: 143). Other caste titles, which are now higher in caste hierarchy like *Maṅgarāja* (helmsman), *Vaitala* indicate the association of these castes with navigation. The rich trader *Saudagar* is a constant theme in *brata* literature. Modern title like *Sahu* could be their successor as they are associated with trade generally (Hunter 1872: 253-56). Not long ago the *Kumuti* caste of Ganjam, Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam districts, were called *kaliṅgavaiśya* and were divided into numerous sub-castes on the basis of their social status. Their marriage ceremony is spread over five days. On day three, they observe *boitavandāna* (worship of boats). On this day they construct a votive boat of plantain on the deck of which are placed rice, money, cowrie and betel nuts (Behera 1993: 221). The astrologer, who is an important component of oceanic trade, is also referred to in the ethnographic record. Palm-leaf Manuscripts of ships, collected from Chillika region and now in possession of Orissa State museum, refer to *durbin yantra* (a kind of telescope). In Ganjam, there is a *Digabareni Sahi* where *digabareni* caste is predominant.
3. The goddess at Kakatpur Maṅgala is a black chlorite image. She is four-armed; holds a rosary in her right; the left hand is missing. Her uplifted right hand holds a disc or full moon and a flower (Mohapatra 1987 (1): 120).
4. The economic prosperity and high social status of *sadhava* as well as associated dangers of sea are constant themes in the folklore and folk literature of Orissa. The *sadhava* son rubbing shoulders with princes are alluded to in many brata literatures. The *Bipra Madhusūdana brata* refers to loan given by the trader to the king. (Pattnaik 1952). The epigraphic records of our period refer to the high social status of traders. An inscription of the Somavamsis refers to a *vanika* who had prepared a land grants and its condition (*IHQ* 20: 245-50). Another Somavamsi record alludes to a *purasresthis*, who was the father of Kudapalli inscription of Udyotakesari (Kielhorn 1896-7 : 254-59). The Sonepur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janmeñjaya record a grant made by this king to the Kamalavana

merchants association (*śrī-kamalavana-vanik-sthāna*), which hailed from Khadirapadra and resided in or had its base at Suvarnapur (Chabra 1935-36: 248-55). The Orissa Museum plates of Netabhanja refer to land grants to a *vanika* (Panigrahi 1962: 16).

5. Wink categories thus: Arabs were Shafi'I, Turks were Hanafi, and Persians were Shi'i.
6. Throughout its existence Bodh Gayā maintained its magnetic personality attracting pilgrims from Sri Lanka, China, Burma and other places. For foreign pilgrims and inscriptions, see (Cunningham 1892; Mitra 1872).
7. Archaeological excavation and epigraphic records also indicate the beginning of monastic architecture around middle of 3rd century BC (Bandaranayake 1974). However, maximum expansion of monastic establishment took place in the middle Historical phase from about 650 AD to 1300 AD encompassing Sigiriya and Pollanaravu phase (*ibid*: 179-180). With the emergence of Anuradhapur as an imperial capital in 1st century BC, Buddhism became the dominant religion with various monasteries like *Mahāsaṅgha* enjoying a favourable position in the affairs of the state. Anuradhapur became the most prominent Buddhist centre in Sri Lanka on account of the presence of Tooth Relic (which was incidentally taken from Challenge), two Bodhi tree sacred to Buddhists, five main *stūpa* (namely Thuparama, Mahatupa, the Abhayagiri, the Jetavana and Maricivatti) make Anuradhapur a heavy concentration of object of worships. Soon Buddhism assumed the status of state religion and enjoyed a close relationship with the state. This close correspondence between the monasteries of Anuradhapur and state is reflected in the layout of the monasteries. The plan and layout of the monastic sites closely correspond to the nature of political authority. From 1st century BC to 4th century AD the emergence of a powerful state is closely followed by mono-centric monastic plan in which the monastic complex is systematically organised around a single expressively dominant ritual centre(*ibid.*: 184). This close correspondence between the state and fortune of *saṅghas* carried up to Polonnaruvu phase (11th-13th century AD). From 7th century AD onwards, which also includes Polonnaruvu phase, there was an enormous expansion of wealth and political power of *saṅgha*, which were manifested in the organisational complexity, architectural development and elaboration of the monastic complexes. The polycentric plan of the monastery reflects the centrifugality in political sphere. But there was reorganisation of Buddhism Polonnaruvu phase under Parakramabahu (13th century AD), which is reflected in the monastic plan as it reverted to a-centric plan (*ibid.* 189-90).
8. According to chronicles "King Anwratha (Anuruddha), finding the Pagan canonical and commentearial texts deficient, goes to Sri Lanka to acquire new copies of the texts. At that time the Emerald Buddha also was located in Sri Lanka. Anuruddha returns from Sri Lanka on his royal steed; one set of manuscripts is loaded on one boat, another copy of the same set together with Emerald Buddha were loaded on another. The second boat loses its way on high sea and drift to Angkor, where the king gets possession of two treasures." (Tambiah 1984: 2).
9. Tambiah has brought out the symbiotic relation between Saṅgha and Thai polity in his study, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer.* Buddha'a tooth relic in Sri Lanka and the Emerald Buddha in Thailand expresses the conviction that political sovereignty in these countries was incapable of being conceived apart from its affiliation with Buddhism, its sponsorship and protection... At the highest level the fusion of kingship with *bodhisattva* makes the king himself, in certain contexts, a ritual officiant of central importance. The most telling evidence for this is that just as in Sri Lanka the temple where tooth relic was

housed was part of the palace complex, so in Thailand is the Wat Phra Kaeo (which houses the Emerald Buddha) part of the grand-palace complex. Furthermore the changing of ornaments and clothes of the emerald Buddha three times a year is performed by the king in person, Just as the Siṁhalese kings of old officiated at daily offerings and at the festivals. The parallel is even stronger when we realise that both the palladia are associated with rain-making and fertility of the soil and that especially in Thai case, the clothing of the statue in sparse monk's robe in the wet season (the period of rain retreat for the monks) and in full regalia in the harvest season was an apt representation of the oscillatory and complementary relation between the Buddha as renouncer and the *cakkavatti* as the world ruler, between the season of rain and the planting of crops and the season of harvest and plenty, between the phases of intensified piety in lay life and the phase of life-affirming activities(Tambiah 1976: 97-98).
Further, Tambiah claims that this symbiotic relationship between Buddhism and royalty was in a political phase characterised by galactic polity. In a political phase when there are intense factionalism, no clear rule of succession, the charismatic king invoked the concept of *cakkavatti,* a just ruler and the others used royal palladia as enduring sedimentation or objectification of power and virtue. Possession of them is a guarantee of legitimacy (Tambiah 1984: 241).

10. Kazuko Ishii has referred to this translation of the *Tattvasaṁgraha* in his article (Kazuko Ishii 1991:151).
11. Lokesh Chandra and David Snellgrove have made a facsimile reproduction with summary of contents (*Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*: 389).
12. Rajendra Cola's conquest also included Takua pa (Talaittokkolam) (Annual *Report of South Indian Epigraphy,* 1912-13, no. 961).
13. Seals similar to Buddhagupta's has been found from Bukti Meriam and two from Borneo: one at Batu Pahat, near the springs of Sungei Tekarek, a tributary of the river Kapuas in west Kalimantan, and the other near the coast of Brunei (Christie 1995: 256).
14. The *Dathavaṁsa* deals with tooth relic tradition in Sri Lanka. The story of Buddha's tooth relic transfer from Kaliṅga to Anuradhapur in 310 AD is briefly touched in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (*Mahāvaṁsa*: 37: 92-97). However it is given an epic proportion in the Pali poem *Dathavaṁsa,* written by monk Dhammakitti, evidently based on a Sinhala poem, *Daladavaṁsa,* written at the request of king Meghavana.
15. Early historical ports of Palur and Manikpatna and hinterland coastal sites like Sisupalgarh have yielded rouletted ware, NBP ware and monochrome glass beads which were also found from Southeast Asian contexts (Ardika 1993:101-09; Basa 1993: 93-100). Glover has also discussed early historical archaeological evidence from Southeast Asia, including the evidence of knob ware (Glover 1996: 129–158).
16. The *Chu-fan-chi* of Chao Ju-Kua, a Chinese port official in middle of the 13th century AD, refers to *Kialing* seagoing vessels and their system of trade organisation (Hirth and Rockhill 1966).
17. Turquoise glaze ware (TGW) is found in the South Asian context from the North-western port Of Mantai by Carswell in 1964-68(Carswell 1991). They have been found from Siraf, Basra, recently known sites of Hiem So Tay and Tra Ki in the Thu Bon valley of Vietnam (Glover 1996).
18. In the textile trade boom of 10th century Orissa was an active participant as Kalinga was always famous for it textile (*Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* 2. 11.92, 2.11.115). Block-printed textiles of India have been found in archaeological context of 10-13th centuries (Barnes 1993).

CONCLUSIONS

The present study highlights the need to understand the poly-religious context of early medieval Orissa. The existing studies label the period as *early medieval* with its cultural markers, which differentiated it from the early historical. One such cultural marker which distinguishes early medieval from the early historical is the close juxtaposition of agrarian expansion through land grant- with the dominance of brāhmanical religion vis-á-vis early historical juxtaposition between trade and Buddhism. Our evidence shows that there was certainly an expansion of settlements between 5th to 12th centuries AD as many new settlement types came up during the period. (Appendix 3, Chapter 5). There is also evidence of increasing donation to *brāhmaṇas*. But this expansion did not result in the growth of dominant brāḥmanical religions. As discussed in chapter 3 and Chapter 5, landgrants were made in interior regions where as major temple establishments were located in coastal areas or upland river plains. On the other hand, we tried to show that numerous Buddhist sites came up between 5th to 12th centuries AD. Buddhism of the period, rather than being degenerative or mere incorporation of tribal element in a feudal age, as often attributed in contemporary studies, was a social and instrumental religion, which made innovations in pantheon structure, rituals and mode of worship. Our study tried to highlight that Buddhists themselves regarded their religion as Ekayāna (one system) with subsystem like Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna and Śrāvakayāna. Vajrayāna made some radical changes, some of which were very esoteric. This might have resulted in tension within Buddhism as Tārānātha mentioned about smashing of image of Cakrasambara by the Ceylonese monks at Bodh Gayā.[1] But as an exoteric, instrumental religion, Vajrayāna introduced a number of deities. Gods and Goddess were assigned instrumental roles. Worshipping these deities by households through *maṇḍala* ritual, by reciting dharaṇis and seed syllables promised fulfilment of existential goals. All these innovations resulted in the spread of Buddhism in Orissa between 5th to 12th centuries AD. Vajrayāna Buddhism made a conceptual separation between exotericism and esotericism and explained gradual progress of yogi from exotericism of Srāvakāyana to esoteric Vajrayāna.

While there is a definite shift in the distribution of Buddhist sites in our period of study, it is important to note that many early historical Buddhist sites also continued and new sites came up. While in Orissa, Bengal many Buddhist sites came up, Nālandā and Bodh Gayā continued to exist and attract pilgrims. Bodh Gayā, as one of the holy sacred sites of Buddhism, continued to attract pilgrims from Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka and other places. The inscriptional data in Ceylonese and Burmese speak of

the wide catchment area of Bodh Gayā. Nālandā has also yielded sculptural and inscriptional evidence, which suggest its continuation. Kukatipadagiri *Mahāvihāra* regarded as sacred on account of the belief that Maitreya will be born here, had always attracted pilgrims (I-tsing Xuanzang refered to the place). Kurkihar in Gayā district has yielded 93 Buddhist images of 9th 11th century AD. The inscriptions, both on the bronzes and sculptures, recorded the pious donations of a large number of devotees hailing from distant lands like Sākāḷa, Kāñcī, Pāṇḍya and islands of Bali (Banerjee-Sastri 1940: 236-52). Even though there was definite decline of famous Buddhist places like Rājgir, Vaisāli, Lumbini there are still many other sites where we have evidence of Buddhism. Sārnātha continued to exist as important sacred sites. The large store of terracotta seals with the creed and dharmacakra symbols stamped on them, the diminutive clay *stūpa* with small seals let into the bottom, which are found in the ruins of the monasteries at Sārnātha, are such as the pilgrims would take them as mementoes to their homes or deposit at their village shrine. At the temples of Pagan, Kedah and elsewhere in Burma and Malay and Indonesia, terracotta tablets or seals have been found which from their designs, were though to have been imported from Buddhist sites like Sārnātha, Nālandā Kanheri and Bodh Gayā (*ASIAR* ii: 59). A Buddha image with an inscription of the 11th century AD was found close to the southeast corner of the *Stūpa* 13 (*ASIAR* vi: 69-102 Plate XX, 6). Broken and fragmentary stone inscription, written in corrupt Sanskrit (donated by Kalacuri king Karnadeva in 1058 AD refers to the king's presence in the *vihāra* called Saddharma-chakrapravarttana, of the order of the friars, the *Sthāviras.* Further, it refers to a worshipper who translated a Buddhist text. An inscription in a Buddha image records that illustrious Sthirapāla and younger brother Vasnathapāla, whom the lord of Gauda, the illustrious Mahipāla, cause to establish in Kāśī the temple of Īśāna and Citraghaṇṭā (Durgā)... restored Aśoka's *stūpa* and the shrine of the wheel of Law completed.

In the south, the Dambal inscription (8th century AD) records the donation made to the Ārya Tārā vihara and Buddha *vihāra* by a merchant of Lokkingundi and sixteen merchants of that place. It invokes the goddess Tārā, who wards offten evils, the very *Prajñā*, the embodiment of *bodhi* and one is always anxiously waiting to bestow her kindness on the distressed (*Indian Antiquary* X: 185). The Mañjunātha temple at Kadri was a Buddhist temple, subsequently appropriated by the Śaivite of Nāthapantha denomination, which had several practices common with the Vajrayāna. A stanza from the *Sthalapurāṇa* says, "he is the Buddha, he is in the form of the Siddha and he himself has the name of Mañjunātha." (Nagaraju 1967: 67). Another image of Tārā from Kolivada in the Hubli *taluq* Dharwar district, attests to this affiliation, with its *Nagari* inscription on the pedestal in which invocatory: *Namo Arya Tārāyai* is followed by the usual Buddhist creed (Desai 1954: 67). A few inscriptions found at Belgami indicate the existence of a Buddhist temple at Belgami, known at that time as the great capital Balligrāma. One inscription, dated to 1017 AD, mentions that Nagiyaka, the wife of the faithful servant of the Cālukyan king Trailokyamalla, constructed a temple of Tārā Bhagavati and donated some lands for the maintenance of the service there (*Epigraphia Carnatica* vii No 69).

In Tamilnadu, Negapattinam came to occupy prominence and became part of religious diplomacy for commerce between Sailendra and Cola king. Buddhist images of the 10th century AD have been found from Negapattinam. The Ceydon grant dated in the 20th year of Kullotuṅga reign (1090 AD) records gift to two Buddhist temples (*ASIAR* xxix: 179). The Madras Museum preserves a bronze image of Maitreya, which is iconographically dated to 13th century AD. Negapattinam pagoda continued to exist as late as 17th century AD when Jesuit missionary destroyed it. An inscription from Kumbhakonam of 16th century AD reveals the existence of a temple of Buddha at the village Tiruvulananadurai near Kumbhakonam, (*ASIAR* xxvi: 151, 205).

In Andhra many Buddhist sites of early historical period declined but Amarāvatī, Salihundam and Sankaram continued. Half a mile north of Ramreddipalli an *agrahara* village situated some 16 miles from Jaggayapeta reveals 127 clay tablets of small size and bearing Buddhist creed in Nāgarī characters of the late medieval period from near the stone *stūpa* (*ASIAR* xxvi: 151-56).

In the west Ajantā, Aurangabad, Kanheri continued to exist and many sculptures of 7th century to 11th century AD have been found from these Buddhist sites.

In central India Buddhist literature of the period refer to central Indian connection of Subhakarasiṁha who took *Mahāvarocanasambodhi* to China. On the other, Luippa, a famous *Siddha* of Vajrayāna belonged to Ujjain. While Sirpur, Mallhar contained many brahmanical structures of 9th 10th century AD; there is also evidence of continuation of Buddhism at Mallhar. Sāñcī continued to exist till 11th–12th century AD. Other Buddhist sites of Malwa include Gyaraspur where we have evidence of Viṣṇu, Jaina and Buddhist images, Shergarh, Dhamner, Sirpur, Kholvi, Rampura-Bhanpura area, Rajpur (Pahadiya 1976).

This is not an exhaustive list of Buddhist presence in 8th-10th centuries AD. This is only to highlight the need to see religion and the shift in the distribution of Buddhism in a fresh light. The period witnessed a spread of Jainism in Gujarat and Karnataka. Our documentation of sites in Orissa also suggests that Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* images are found from a number of places.

However, the period also witnessed the expansion of brahmanical religions. Chapter 3 of the dissertation tried to highlight this expansion of Buddhism and brahmanical religions by carefully documenting all cult images and religious structures. Sites like Dharmasala, Ajodhyā, Sheragarh, Avana all preserve images of major religions. In such a situation to characterise a deity as Brāhmanical or Buddhist is unhistorical. Ratnagiri's Vajra Mahākāla temple is a case in point. The existing Vajra Mahākalā temple (now non-existent as the ASI excavates the area below) was built in 15th century AD at a time when Buddhism declined in Orissa. People around Ratnagiri still worship the deity and celebrate *Vajra Mahākāla vrata.* The deity retains the Buddhist name; however, he is offered worship in the *mantras* of Mahādeva. In different context, the

Table 7.1: A Comparison between existing Approach and the findings of the present Study.

Existing Approach	Findings of the present Study
Vajrayāna Buddhism was a degenerated Buddhism, having little similarity with Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna. It was a bundle of rituals borrowed from brahmanical religions and hence imitative. Alternatively, it is argued that it incorporated tribal elements in a feudal age.	Buddhists themselves conceptualise the religion as Ekayāna, with different subsystems like Śrāva-kayāna, Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna. They see the progression of yogi from Śrāvakayāna to esotericism of Vajrayāna. Further Vajrayāna always maintained a separation between its esoteric form and exoteric form. In Nepal esoteric deities are kept in upper chamber to which general laity is not allowed to enter.
Vajrayāna of the period was confined to monks who remained isolated in the secret chambers of the monastic establishments and engaged in sexual practices with the yogini. They had little contact with laity or the latter had little to do with the esoteric Buddhism of Vajrayāna.	Vajrayāna was a social religion, which innovated many deities, rituals and *vratas* for the laity. These deities were assigned instrumental roles. Their elaborate worship was believed to guarantee fulfilment of every goals of the laity. This resulted in the expansion of Buddhism in the period between 5th to 12th centuries AD. This is proved by the existence of these deities at many sites. Further many votive *stūpa, dhāraṇis,* seals and sealings are found from monastic and other sites indicating the ritual behaviours of the laity.
Early medieval India is characterised by close juxtaposition of a monolithic brāhmanical religion and agrarian expansion through land grants to *brāhmaṇas.* In contrast the early historical period, there was a close correspondence between Buddhism and trade.	In our approach the period saw a simultaneous expansion of Buddhism, brahmanical religions, maritime trade and agrarian expansion. While epigraphic and archaeological evidence indicates growth of new settlements, the evidence also points out the expansion of maritime trade. Ports like Khalkattapatna, Manikpatna and other coastal establishment came up or continued during the period. Both Buddhism and brahmanical religions derived their support from trade and agriculture. In fact in this period *saṅgha* became an important landlord in Siṁhala. I-tsing gives an elaborate description about the way the property of monk and monastic establishment was to be ḍistributed. The land in possession of Nālandā contains more than two hundred villages. On the other hand, Buddhism innovated the concept of Saviour in the form of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, who were invoked by maritime traders. This is not to argue that only Buddhism was allied with maritime trade. Maritime activity was itself a complex task and was a group activity in which *nāvika, jytoliṣa, vānika* and others participated. In such a complex activity to reduce maritime trade to a religion is ahistorical but it was Buddhism, which innovated a goddess for traders in the form of Tārā, who rescues people from the dangers of sea voyage.
While the existing approach, implicitly accepting the decline of Buddhism in the period between 7th to 12th centuries AD, argues that the spread of Buddhism in peninsular and maritime Southeast Asia was largely through Sri Lanka. Alternatively, where brāhmanical religions had substantial presence as in Cambodia where the *devaraja* cult emerged, historian like Kulke postulates a convergence hypothesis (Kulke 1993).	While Mainland Southeast Asia increasingly saw Sri Lanka as authentic source of Buddhism (reasons explained in chapter 6), there was definite evidence of the type of Buddhism of 7th to 12th centuries AD in Southeast Asia. Buddhist *maṇḍala* became quite popular in Orissa and other places from 7th-8th century AD onwards. We have many examples of *stūpa* and sculptural *maṇḍala* from Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and other places. Borobodur, Candi Mendut of Java are two fine examples of *Stūpa maṇḍala,* indicating continuity of Buddhist connection with India.
Buddhism was imitative and was a bundle of rituals and was finally incorporated into an octopus Hinduism.	Historical evidence points out that Buddhism of the period was dynamic and it expanded both horizontally and vertically in the period between 5th to 12th centuries AD. Both brāhmanical religions and Buddhism shared certain baseline

concepts: these baseline concepts include certain ritual behaviours, like ablution of deities, applying sandal paste to them, worship them by making powdered *maṇḍala,* incorporation of autochthonous elements, ritual specialists to conduct these complex rituals, etc. The provenance of these baseline concepts can be brāhmanical or Buddhist. Hence, Vajrayogini was incorporated as Chinnamastā, Buddha as an *avatāra* Viṣṇu, Tārā as a saviouress in Hinduism. Alternatively Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī became Buddhist deity. Such a rigid classification of deities into Brāhmanical and Buddhist will not help. Depending on a particular context, can one ascertain whether a particular god is Buddhist or brāhmanical? In fact Gaṇeśa and Mahiṣamardinī Durgā are found from Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri respectively.

There was an expansion of settlements in *early medieval* period. This expansion took place through the land grants to *brāhmaṇas.* Through *brāhmaṇas,* brahmanical religions spread to tribal areas. The political elite used brahmanical religions and *brāhmaṇas* to gain legitimacy and extend their authority into the peripheral zones.

I tried to show that there was certainly an expansion of settlements (Chapter 5). There is also evidence of increasing land grants to *brāhmaṇas* as well as the expansion of brāhmanical cults (Chapter 3). But the superimposition of the map of donated villages on the map of cults and brāhmanical religious structure shows that while majority of the land grants were given in interior areas, major cult centres were located largely in coastal areas. There are certain exception to it, like Khiching, Ranipur-Jharial, Kesaribeda or sites in Kalahandi district. However, it is to be noted that there was a continuity of settlements from early historical period, rather than the general assumptions that the spread of brāhmanical religions and land grants resulted in the *acculturations of the tribal area.*

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same god is worshipped in different names. *Vajra Mahākāla vrata,* which is still practiced in the environments of Ratnagiri could have a Buddhist origin even though no textual reference of the *vrata* has so far been found. However, Vajra Mahākāla's association with Maheśvara was acknowledged even in 7th century AD. I-tsing refers to tradition, which asserts that Mahākāla belonged to the beings in the heaven of the Great God (Maheśvara). At meal times those who serve in the kitchen offer light and incense and arrange all kind of prepared food before the deity. Even today, people celebrate *Vajra Mahākāla vrata* with pancakes made by the female folk, which are offered to the deity. This reminds the continuity of historical tradition in different context and time. Karuṇāmaya Matsyendranātha of Nepal is an instance of multivalency of symbols. He is regarded as a form of Śiva, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha. Similar is the case of Buddhist goddess Kumārī, who is worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists. Tārā is regarded as an emanation of Durgā in brahmanical religious literature, where as for Vajrayāna Buddhists of our period of study, she was the most favoured deity.

Documentation of sites, cults and religious structure certainly indicate the increasing presence of Śaivism and Śaktism in the religious landscape but to suggest

that other religions were non-existent or were assimilated in brahmanical religions is not borne out from the evidence. Buddhism maintained its own identity. They developed *Caityavandana* (worship of *caitya*), innovated distinct gods and goddesses, not worshipped by the followers of other religion and more importantly, a normative ideology, which makes neat division of gods and goddess. As about distinct Buddhist identity of followers, we have no evidence, but the Buddhist literature of the period claimed them to be different from brahmanical tantra. They employed distinctly Buddhist terminology of Nāgārjuna and Yogācāra. In fact the Vaiṣṇava saints of 15th century AD employed many Buddhist terminology in their works.

There are many rituals, which were followed by the laity. I have documented some of the *vratas, dhāraṇis* in chapter 2 and 5. The *maṇḍala* rituals were very important to households. I-tsing refers to laity-monk interaction on *upavasatha* day. "In India, the host comes previously to the priests and after a salutation invites them to festival. .... Priests sit according to their rank. At the upper end of the row of seats are the images of *arhats* to whom offer being made first. At the lowest end of the row an offering of food is made to the mother Hariti" (I-tsing: 36).... then the Priest, calling out the Danapati's name (host) prays for happiness upon them wish to transfer the happy reward of good actions done at present to those already dead (Takakusu 1966: 46).

How does one view inter-religious equations as well as their support base? There was no relationship between land grants to *brāhmaṇas* and the religious affiliation of the donated settlements. As I have shown in case of the selected inscriptions of the Bhaumakaras (Chapter 5), settlements which were donated to two hundred *brāhmaṇas* reveal Buddhist antiquities. Nor the relation between the political patronage and the dominance of a religion or cult is quite clear in our period of study. I have tried to show that it was during the period of the Somavaṁśīs when the gigantic Śaiva temples were built in Bhubaneswar and elsewhere that the largest numbers of Buddhist sculptures datable to 9th to 12th century AD were found.

About religious equation between brahmanical religions and Buddhism, conventional wisdom speaks in term of syncretism-hostility. Perfect religious harmony among different cults or rivalry between Hinduism and Buddhism, epitomized in Śaṅkara's victory over Buddhism are quite common in historical writings. Alternatively it is argued that Buddhism lost its independent identity and was incorporated into Hinduism.

Such approaches fail to encapsulate the religious dynamism of the age. Brāhmanical religions and Buddhism share many baseline concepts, and their origin might be brāhmanical or Buddhist. To state that deity worship, rituals, bathing of deities, incense burning were brāhmanical in nature, and hence, the Buddhists imitated brāhmanical customs is purely ahistorical. There were certain baseline concepts, practices and cultural icons, which transcended their original moorings to become parts of the cultural profile of the age. There was a great degree of borrowing and experimentation. Epigraphic records of the period referred to many autochthonous deities and tantric influence in various spheres of religion.[2] Buddhism

similarly made experimentation with iconography, ritual. In such a situation there was great degree of competition, co-optation and coexistence but at the same time brāhmanical religions and Buddhism operated within the boundary of certain cultural baselines, which are shared by all. Therefore, Buddhism tried to curtail many antinomian practices and tried to routinise the extreme elements of Vajrayāna Buddhism. For example, there were no yab-yum deities in Orissa. Nor do we find any Buddhist deities who trample upon brahmanical gods with the exceptions at Baneswarnasi and Fakirpatna images where Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Indra and Brahmā are represented as companions of Mara. I have tried to analyse the inter-religious equation by identifying seven processes: *borrowing* – borrowing from one religion to one' own; *Parallelism* – by which functional equivalents are developed in one religion of the cults and rites of the other; and *Identification*— whereby a single cult is frequented by all under different names (Gellner terms this as *multivalency of symbols*); *subordination* – in which divinities are directly given a subordinate position in the competing religion; *Conflation* – in which two or more divinities or motifs of the contesting religion were conflated to invent anew deity in their respective religion; *Conversion* — in which the divinities of the opposite religion were converted to be part of one's pantheon and *Combination* of any of the above six processes. These processes have been analysed in chapter 6.

As regards the support base of Buddhism, I have highlighted the need to shift the focus from *who gave what to whom* to markers of support system. Epigraphic records of the period refer to land donation to *Ārya saṅgha,* Jayasrama vihāra, etc. Establishments like Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Laṅgudi could not have continued uninterruptedly for more than one millennium without a stable system. *Dāna* and pilgrimage provided a normative basis for a stable support system for the *saṅgha,* regarded as a punna *kṣetra.* People and monks visited many sacred sites, donated votive *stūpa* and took away mementoes in the form of seals, sealings, clay *stūpa* of the sacred establishments. They formed an important support base of Buddhism. Land at the disposal of the *saṅgha* was another significant source of its earning.

Traders constituted an important social group who supported Buddhism. Particularly important was the worship of Tārā by traders. During the trade boom of 8th-12th centuries AD in the Indian Ocean, Tārā became an important cult in India and Southeast Asia and was worshipped by traders. She is regarded as the goddess of the *sarthavahas.* In Ratnagiri, the largest number of donatives votive *stūpa* containing Tārā images has been found. The Dambal inscription of Karnataka refers to her worship by the traders. The Kalasan inscription of Java, dated to 778 AD, invokes Tārā as "the only guiding star of the world" (Sarkar 1971: 34-70).

This was to highlight continuation of a Buddhist trading network in the Indian Ocean. Wink's perspective that the entry of Islam resulted in the replacement of the Buddhist trading network is not borne out from the evidence. Buddhist communities of the Indian Ocean continued to interact with each other and trade provided one mechanism for such contact. In chapter 6, the close juxtaposition between Buddhist settlements and trade routes and ports in Southeast Asia has been highlighted. This

was not to suggest the predominance of Buddhism in the trading networks of the Indian Ocean. In fact Jaina non-canonical sources refer to long distance trade (Thakur and Jha 1994). Many port sites or sites along the trade routes of Southeast Asia reveal substantial brahmanical presence. They have all been highlighted to show the diversity in religious affiliation of the traders and their interdependence. The Anavada inscription dated to 1291 AD from Gujarat refers to a range of donors such as roving merchants, ship-owners, *mzhājans, etc.* (*Indian Antiquary* XLI: 21) Such interdependence in trading activity has been found from the Geniza records of Cairo (Goitein 1980). As has been highlighted in Chapter 6, maritime activities had always been a group activity, which required occupational specialization. Ethnographic data of 1872 and folklore of Orissa refer to numerous occupational groups associated with maritime activities and the need for inter-dependence (Chapter 6).

Future Strategy

While the dissertation tried to argue for a poly-religious landscape of Orissa during 5th century AD to 12th centuries AD, there are many other issues, which could not be addressed in the present study.

Decline of Buddhism and Imperial Cult of Jagannātha

Why did Buddhism decline in the post-12th century AD? One important cause which I thought (See Chapter 4) to be important is the Èlan with which brahmanical religions incorporated elements from below, which Eschmann dealt in her beautiful essay on Hinduisation (Eschmann 1978). The five fold process of Hinduisation offered an important conceptual tool to understand the growth of important cults in Orissa. In contrast, innovation and incorporation in Buddhism was largely from the monastery. This was in contrast to brahmanical religions in which it appropriated and incorporated a local cult to higher tradition of Hinduism only after the cult became quite famous. Moreover, even though there are references to independent temples of Buddhist deities as the Dambal inscription, Kalasan inscription, etc. refer to, they were largely limited to monastery and hence, innovation came from the monastery.

The role of the Jagannātha cult in the decline of Buddhism needs to be probed further. The Vaiṣṇava saints of 15th-16th century AD described Jagannātha as a form of Buddha. In fact Jagannātha replaces Buddha as an avatar in the *dasāvatāra* set of the Jagannatha temple. It is argued in Section 4.15 of Chapter 4 that the emergence of the cult of Jagannātha marked a qualitative shift from the earlier development. The inclusive Jagannātha cult got a level of patronage from the political ruler of the day Anaṅgabhimadeva III, which was not hitherto heard of in Orissa. The king declared himself to be a *rāuta* of the god, who was ruling the state on the ādeśa of the lord. This complete identification of an imperial cult by the Imperial Gaṅgā and Gajapatis resulted in relative marginalisation of other cults. The successful appropriation of the Buddhist idioms by the Vaiṣṇava saints of Orissa and dislodgement of Buddha by Jagannātha as the 9th *avatāra* of Viṣṇu had great bearings for Buddhism.

Social Base of Buddhism – Need for ethnographic studies

While the present study highlighted the social base of Buddhism in the period, it is important to document many habitation settlements near the Buddhist sites. They might provide significant material artefacts about religious behaviour of the laity. Further, there is a need to examine the religious festivals in the environments of major Buddhist settlements, which might reveal traces of Buddhist practices. In-depth study of the Tantric and household ritual manuals, preserved in the manuscript section of the Orissa State Museum might provide significant clue to understand Buddhism better.

Role of Brāhmaṇas

While the epigraphic records of our period do not reveal any correspondence between agrahāra settlement and spread of brāhmanical religions, it is important to understand the nature of agrahāra settlement and role of *brāhmaṇas* in the interior areas of Orissa.

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2. The Anugul copper plates of Śāntikaradeva refers to *nāḍi* and *cakra,* which are associated with the spiritual practices for the control of *prāṇa* (Mishra 1934).

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